

A REPORT OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON
COMMUNIST TACTICS, STRATEGY AND OBJECTIVES

PEACEFUL CO-EXISTENCE—A BLUEPRINT
FOR DISRUPTION

AMERICAN BAR ASSOCIATION

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Preface

Two recent statements of Communist principles and policy constitute important confirmation of the urgent need for continuance and expansion of the program of the American Bar Association to advance individual rights and freedom under law against the threat of Communism.

In February, 1959, the House of Delegates recommended legislative action to strengthen national security in the following areas:

(a) To extend the Smith Act of 1940 to make it a crime to teach and advocate violent overthrow of the United States Government, and to define the word "organize" to include a continuing process in order to avoid the bar of the Statute of Limitations;

(b) To enable the executive branch of the government to determine and dismiss employees in both sensitive and non-sensitive government positions who are security risks;

(c) To authorize dismissal of government employees who refuse to answer, before duly authorized congressional committees, executive officers and courts, questions concerning Communist or Communist front subversive activities;

(d) To empower the executive branch of the government to deport at any time those aliens who are Communists, and to interrogate aliens awaiting deportation as to their subversive activities;

(e) To authorize denial of passports to persons knowingly engaged in sub-

versive activities designed or intended to further Communism, and to provide standards for the issuance of passports;

(f) To apply the Foreign Agents Registration Act of 1946 to agents of foreign principals outside the United States with respect to dissemination of political propaganda within the United States.

In August, 1960, the House of Delegates adopted resolutions to support a program of education on the nature, strategy and tactics of Communism as contrasted to our democratic system of freedom under law. A special committee was created to implement this program.

The 81-Party Statement adopted at a meeting of Communist Parties in Moscow in November, 1960, and the address of January 6, 1961 by Nikita Khrushchev upon this 81-Party Statement reaffirm the principles and Strategy of world Communism. These latest pronouncements emphasize the necessity of increased effort by bar associations to carry out the policies which were adopted by the House of Delegates.

Wide public knowledge of the contents of these two Communist documents is necessary for adequate understanding of the current tactics of Communism.

The Special Committee on Communist Tactics, Strategy and Objectives therefore submits this report upon the two documents, copies of which are attached hereto as Appendices A and B.

Blueprint For Disruption: The Meaning Of "Peaceful Co-Existence"

What are the immediate objectives of the Communists? How do they propose to achieve them?

The Communists themselves have answered and reaffirmed their stand on these questions in two recent documents, reproduced at the end of this report. The first is the Communist Manifesto of 1960, which is entitled *Statement by 81 Marxist-Leninist Parties* adopted unanimously in Moscow on December 5, 1960 at a meeting of Communist parties. The January, 1961 issue of *Political Affairs*—theoretical magazine of the Communists in the U. S.—published this manifesto, calling it an "historic document." The second document is the report on this statement by Nikita Khrushchev, delivered at a top-level Russian Communist meeting on January 6, 1961.

The free world once ignored the plans of Hitler as revealed clearly in Mein Kampf until it was too late to prevent World War II. We face a greater danger now. We must not ignore what the Communists now say and long have said they are going to do.

As a hymn of hate against America, the 81-Party Statement has no equal. It is also a pronouncement of the current party-line to Communists and their followers in all countries.

The party-line is a program of strategy and tactics that may change from time to time to meet changing circumstances. It may disguise, conceal, or restate the basic doctrines of world Communism. However, the fundamental ideology called "Marxism-Leninism" is a program for world domination and control by the Communists. It always remains constant. This is evident in the statement from repeated declarations of adherence to such ideology. Khrushchev said—

"... if anyone thinks we shall forget about Marx, Engels and Lenin, he is mistaken. This will happen when shrimps learn to whistle."

Marxism-Leninism is a program of dictatorship and revolution. It teaches

that the conquest of the world by Communism is historically inevitable. The statement says,

"Whatever efforts imperialism makes, it cannot stop the advance of history."

Communism declares that the peoples of the world (the masses) are incapable of selecting the leadership to attain this inexorable outcome. World command must therefore be assumed by a disciplined political army or "revolutionary vanguard," the Communist Party. Communists consider themselves obligated to stop at nothing in advancing their "march of history." Khrushchev said, in his speech of January 6, 1961,

"Communists are revolutionaries, and it would be a bad thing if they did not take advantage of new opportunities that arose and found new methods and forms providing the best way to achievement of the ends in view."

Communists recognize that whatever the free world does in self-defense, in preventing aggression, or even in giving aid to backward countries, may prevent Communist subversion and conquest; therefore, they declare it evil. When Communists take over an unwilling country or suppress a popular uprising by force of arms they call it a "war of liberation" and a "just" war; but, when a country takes up arms to defend itself or its neighbor from a Communist invasion, it is an "imperialist" or "unjust" war. Everything has the infantile simplicity of a western movie: they are the "good guys," we are the "bad guys." At the end of the show, they assert, we will be buried, the minds of all people will be under Communist thought-control, the human race will be cleansed of our wickedness, and peace under Communism will reign forever. Khrushchev said on January 6,

"The time is not far away when Marxism-Leninism will possess the

minds of a majority of the world's population."

This is what the Communists mean when they say they are fighting for "peace." Those who don't like this kind of "peace" will be "buried."

We are described in the statement as follows:

"U. S. imperialism is the main force of aggression and war . . . The imperialist forces of the U.S.A., Britain and France have made a criminal deal with West-German imperialism . . . The Bonn state has become the chief enemy of peaceful coexistence, disarmament and relaxation of tension in Europe . . . The U. S. imperialists are also busy reviving the hotbed of war in the Far East . . . threatening Cuba with aggression and interfering in the affairs of the peoples of Latin America, Africa and the Middle East. The U. S. imperialists strive to create new seats of war in different parts of the world."

They are described in the statement as follows:

"The socialist camp is a social, economic and political community of free and sovereign peoples united by the close bonds of international socialist solidarity, by common interests and objectives, and following the path of socialism and communism. It is an inviolable law of the mutual relations between socialist countries strictly to adhere to the principles of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism. Every country in the socialist camp is ensured genuinely equal rights and independence . . . The Marxist-Leninist Parties head the struggle of the working class, the masses of working people, for the accomplishment of the socialist revolution and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat . . . The Communist and Workers' Parties unanimously declare that the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has been, and remains, the universally recognized vanguard of the world Communist movement . . . The historic decisions of the 20th Congress of the C.P.S.U. have initiated a new state in the world Communist movement, and have promoted its development on the basis of Marxism-Leninism."

These declarations are a part of the never-changing basic Communist doctrine.

The party-line, however, is concerned with tactics which shift according to the internal and external conditions of the moment. It includes the tactics and slogans to be used by the Party in manipulating outsiders, and the immediate tactical goals that the Party wants to attain. It may reflect a very broad range of subjects, including the state of the free world, the inner politics of the Party, the economic problems of the Soviet Union, unrest in the satellite countries, military considerations, changes in the balance of power, opportunistic estimates of possible gains or losses, feelings of security or fear, the discovery of a new weapon or counter-measure, decisions whether to consolidate and digest past conquests or to probe for new conquests. In the past, we have seen demands for revolutions alternate with "united front" tactics. We have seen the assassination of Trotsky, the slaughter of the old Bolsheviks, and the liquidation of the Beria group followed by a pseudo-liberal period of "de-Stalinization," followed in turn by the slaughter of the Hungarian patriots. We have seen a "friendly," folksy visitor named Khrushchev become a shoe-beating vulgarian trying to coerce and terrify the free world. We now see the kangaroo courts and firing squads of Dr. Castro, who formerly posed as the defender of freedom and civil liberty. We have seen the overt enmity for the West replaced successively by "collective security" against Hitler, the Hitler-Stalin pact, the East-West alliance, the "peace and friendship pact" era, Iron-Curtainism, and now "peaceful coexistence" complete with rocket-riding. These, and many other tactical zigzags, represent shifts in the party-line.

The current party-line is found in the 81-Party Statement. It is written in party jargon, in which the key words have two meanings. In their ordinary sense, they convey a friendly message to outsiders; in party jargon the words have a very different meaning. The Communists thus combine political directives and propaganda in a single document.

Here is a short dictionary of key words and their jargon meanings used by Communists:

Democracy: Communism

Peace: Communist world domination

Socialist: Communist

Bourgeois: non-Communist

Communism: the terminal condition when non-Communist modes of thought will have been completely suppressed and forgotten.

Capitalism: any non-Communist system, including democracy.

Imperialism: a non-Communist system actively opposing the spread of Communism, especially the U. S. A.

Colonialism: any foreign aid extended by a non-Communist country.

Liberation: the seizure of a non-Communist country by Communists.

Working class: a Communist party, or the world Communist parties collectively.

Independence: Submission to Communist control.

Working people: Communist sympathizers, or non-Communists under Party influence.

The statement heralds a period of "united front" tactics for the promotion of specific ends. The term "united front" denotes a technique of promoting temporary alliances with non-Communist and even anti-Communist groups in the age-old strategy of "Divide and Conquer." Khrushchev emphasizes this as one of the main points of the Manifesto:

"The statement directs maximum utilization of the revolutionary capabilities of the various classes and social strata, drawing into the struggle against imperialism all, even inconsistent, wavering, unsteady allies."

The statement declares, "No political, religious or other differences should be an obstacle." Thus, though Communism is dedicated to the destruction of religion and non-Communist political thought, the statement directs the formation of opportunistic alliances

even with church groups and "enemy" parties.

The statement is explicit that the purpose of such alliances is to subvert the deterrent power of the countries opposed to Communism:

"The time has come when the attempts of the imperialist aggressors to start a world war can be curbed. World war can be prevented by the joint efforts of the world socialist camp, the international working class, the national liberation movement, all the countries opposing war, and all peace loving forces . . . The policy of peaceful coexistence is also favored by a definite section of the bourgeoisie of the developed capitalist countries . . . The broadest possible united front of peace supporters, fighters against the imperialist policy of aggression and war inspired by U. S. imperialism, is essential to preserve world peace . . . The struggle against the threat of a new war must be waged now and not when atom and hydrogen bombs begin to fall, and it must gain in strength from day to day."

A united front is to be organized in support of "peace." We are witnessing "peace marches," "peace organizations," "peace demonstrations," "peace fighters," "peace propaganda." The world has seen this before, notably during the Hitler-Stalin Pact period, when Communist-led Hitler-supporting pickets marched around the White House denouncing Lend-Lease, aid to Britain and U. S. rearmament.

What do the Communists mean by "peaceful coexistence?" The statement answers that question:

"Peaceful coexistence of states does not imply renunciation of the class struggle . . . The coexistence of states with different social systems is a form of class struggle between socialism and capitalism. In conditions of peaceful coexistence favorable opportunities are provided for the development of the class struggle in the capitalist countries. Peaceful coexistence . . . does not mean conciliation of the socialist and bourgeois ideologies. On the contrary, it implies intensification of the struggle of the working class, of all the Communist Parties, for the triumph

of socialist ideas."

In this respect the statement declares a principle first stated by Lenin, who said that

"every 'peace programme' is a deception of the people and a piece of hypocrisy unless its principal object is to explain to the masses the need for a revolution, and to support and develop the revolutionary struggle of the masses that is starting everywhere."

In line with that Leninist principle, Khrushchev made it clear that "peace" includes certain kinds of war, when he said on January 6:

"Now a word about national liberation wars . . . Such wars are not only admissible but inevitable . . . The peoples can obtain their freedom and independence only by struggle, including armed struggle . . . What is the attitude of the Marxists toward such uprisings? A most positive one . . . The Communists fully support such just wars and march in the front rank with the peoples waging liberation struggles."

The meaning of "peaceful coexistence" is thus made clear to Communists throughout the world, though the phrase is intended to convey the opposite meaning to the people in the free world. Underground Communist parties in non-Communist countries will "fight for peace" by creating disorder and disunity and preventing effective defense. The Soviet Union and its satellite powers will then be able to intervene in "just" wars started by Communists, with minimum risk of effective opposition or deterrent action. The statement says,

"In the opinion of Communists the tasks which must be accomplished . . . are to stop the arms race, ban nuclear weapons, their tests and production, dismantle foreign war bases and withdraw foreign troops from other countries, disband military blocs, conclude a peace treaty with (East) Germany, turn West Berlin into a demilitarized (East-German) free city, thwart the designs of the West German revisionists, and prevent the revival of Japanese militarism."

The main object of the "united front" attack is to weaken and de-

stroy the free world's system of defense alliances:

"The U. S. imperialists, together with . . . Britain, France and West Germany, have drawn many countries into NATO, CENTO, SEATO and other military blocs . . . crumpled the so-called 'free world' . . . in a network of military blocs . . . The existence of these blocs and bases endangers universal peace and security and not only encroaches on the sovereignty but also imperils the very life of those countries which put their territory at the disposal of the U. S. . . ."

This propaganda is intended to intimidate and split the West. Communists are instructed to spread the word that by remaining allied with the other nations of the free world, free countries imperil their own existence. Communist leaders and their dupes have already organized demonstrations to pressure democratic governments to withdraw from mutual defense pacts and to close down allied military and naval bases, thus weakening their own defenses.

The current party-line for the United States includes building opposition to defense budgets.

" . . . it is necessary to promote a broad mass movement, for the use of funds and resources to be released through disarmament for the needs of civilian production, housing, health, public education, social security, scientific research, etc. . . . By an active and resolute struggle, the imperialists must be made to meet this demand of the peoples."

The main theme of the doctrine of peaceful coexistence is to postpone general war, meanwhile seeking territorial and political gains through internal subversion, local intervention and irregular or brush-fire combat. The Communists hope in this manner to make headway at little or no cost to themselves. The line thus resembles the "peace offensive" of the later 1940's.

The U. S. then held an atomic monopoly, but the "peace" movement organized in Europe furnished a shield under which the Soviets committed acts of aggression without provoking a general war they would only lose. Thus, through the 81-Party Statement,

the Soviet Union, sole Communist possessor of "the bomb," serves notice to the Communist World that while the Soviet Union may support local action and brush fire wars in their behalf, it will not under present circumstances encourage or permit steps that in its judgment will result in general war. Khrushchev made this point when he said:

"We always seek to direct the development of events in a way which insures that, while defending the interest of the Soviet Camp, we do not provide the Imperialist provocateurs with a chance to unleash a new World War."

Is there any method of countering this "united front" technique? The 81-Party Statement even has an answer to this question:

"The reactionaries effort to break up the national front under the slogan of 'anti-Communism' and to isolate the Communists . . . is contrary to the national interests of the people and is fraught with the loss of national gains."

Our watchword, then, is "Isolate the Communists."

Communists lose influence when they are identified. An exposed Communist is a known enemy of his own country; he is thus isolated from those he would deceive and beguile into his "united front." Therefore, Communists generally conceal their affiliation. They hide and claim the protection of the civil liberties they would deny to others and which they have abolished in every country they rule.

The party-line loses its effect when it is recognized as propaganda and

its true meaning is understood. The party-line must be exposed, and so explained that it will be understood by the citizens of the free world as well as by the Party elite. Our people must understand that in party jargon, "peace" means "universal Communism," and "peaceful coexistence" means "intensification of the struggle . . . of all the Communist Parties . . . for the triumph of socialist ideas." When this is understood, we will not be misled into Communist "peace" movements, "anti-imperialist" maneuvers, "anti-war" organizations, and campaigns against our national security.

To isolate the Communists and their party-line, we must have an alert, informed and active citizenry.

The Party Statement announces that the ultimate goal of Communism is universal thought control, called "the complete emancipation of the minds of the people from the survivals of bourgeois ideology."

Our people must insist upon and support bold new actions by the free world to defeat this announced goal.

Widespread knowledge of the Communists tactics, strategy and objectives is essential to national survival.

Respectfully submitted,

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Appendices A and B

Appendix A

Statement By 81 Marxist-Leninist Parties*

Representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties have discussed at this Meeting urgent problems of the present international situation and of the further struggle for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism.

The Meeting has shown unity of views among the participants on the issues discussed. The Communist and Workers' Parties have unanimously reaffirmed their allegiance to the Declaration and Peace Manifesto adopted in 1957. These program documents of creative Marxism-Leninism determined the fundamental positions of the international Communist movement on the more important issues of our time and contributed in great measure toward uniting the efforts of the Communist and Workers' Parties in the struggle to achieve common goals. They remain the banner and guide to action for the whole of the international Communist movement.

The course of events in the past three years has demonstrated the correctness of the analysis of the international situation and the outlook for world development as given in the Declaration and Peace Manifesto, and the great scientific force and effective role of creative Marxism-Leninism.

The chief results of these years is the rapid growth of the might and international influence of the world socialist system, the vigorous process of disintegration of the colonial system under the impact of the national-liberation movement, the intensification of class struggles in the capitalist world, and the continued decline and decay of the world capitalist system. The superiority of the forces of socialism over those of imperialism, of the forces of peace over those of war,

is becoming ever more marked in the world arena.

Nevertheless, imperialism, which is intent on maintaining its positions, sabotages disarmament, seeks to prolong the cold war and aggravate it to the utmost, and persists in preparing a new world war. This situation demands ever closer joint efforts and resolute actions on the part of the socialist countries, the international working class, the national anti-imperialist movement, all peace-loving countries and all peace champions, to prevent war and assure a peaceful life for people. It demands the further consolidation of all revolutionary forces in the fight against imperialism, for national independence, and for socialism.

I

Our time, whose main content is the transition from capitalism to socialism initiated by the Great October Socialist Revolution, is a time of struggle between the two opposing social systems, a time of socialist revolutions and national-liberation revolutions, a time of the breakdown of imperialism, of the abolition of the colonial system, a time of transition of more peoples to the socialist path, of the triumph of socialism and communism on a world-wide scale.

It is the principal characteristic of our time that the world socialist system is becoming the decisive factor in the development of society.

The strength and invincibility of socialism have been demonstrated in recent decades in titanic battles between the new and old worlds. Attempts by the imperialists and their shock force—fascism—to check the course of historical development by force of arms ended in failure. Imperialism proved powerless to stop the socialist revolutions in Europe and Asia. Socialism became a world system. The imperialists tried to hamper the economic progress of the socialist countries, but their schemes were foiled. The imperialists did all in their power to preserve the system of colonial slavery, but that system is falling apart. As the world socialist system grows stronger, the international situation changes more and more in favor of

* Representatives of 81 Communist and Workers' Parties consulted together for an extended period of time in November, 1960. On December 5, 1960, these Parties unanimously adopted a Statement; this historic document is printed in full in the following pages in an authorized translation.—The Editor, *Political Affairs*

the peoples fighting for independence, democracy and social progress.

Today it is the world socialist system and the forces fighting against imperialism, for a socialist transformation of society, that determine the main content, main trend and main features of the historical development of society. Whatever efforts imperialism makes, it cannot stop the advance of history. A reliable basis has been provided for further decisive victories for socialism. The complete triumph of socialism is inevitable.

The course of social development proves right Lenin's prediction that the countries of victorious socialism would influence the development of world revolution chiefly by their economic construction. Socialism has made unprecedented constructive progress in production, science and technology and in the establishment of a new, free community of people, in which their material and spiritual requirements are increasingly satisfied. The time is not far off when socialism's share of world production will be greater than that of capitalism. Capitalism will be defeated in the decisive sphere of human endeavor, the sphere of material production.

The consolidation and development of the socialist system exert an ever-increasing influence on the struggle of the peoples in the capitalist countries. By the force of its example, the world socialist system is revolutionizing the thinking of the working people in the capitalist countries; it is inspiring them to fight against capitalism, and is greatly facilitating that fight. In the capitalist countries the forces fighting for peace and national independence and for the triumph of democracy and the victory of socialism, are gaining in numbers and strength.

The world capitalist system is going through an intense process of disintegration and decay. Its contradictions have accelerated the development of monopoly capitalism into state-monopoly capitalism. By tightening the monopolies' grip on the life of the nation, state-monopoly capitalism closely combines the power of the monopolies with that of the state with the aim of saving the capitalist system and increasing the profits of the imperialist bourgeoisie to the utmost by exploiting the working class and plundering large sections of the population.

But no matter what methods it resorts to, the monopoly bourgeoisie cannot rescue capitalism. The interests

of a handful of monopolies are in irreconcilable contradiction to the interests of the entire nation. The class and national antagonisms, and the internal and external contradictions of capitalist society, have sharpened greatly. Attempts to prop the decayed pillars of capitalism by militarism are aggravating these contradictions still further.

Never has the conflict between the productive forces and relations of production in the capitalist countries been so acute. Capitalism impedes more and more the use of the achievements of modern science and technology in the interests of social progress. It turns the discoveries of human genius against mankind itself by converting them into formidable means of destructive warfare.

The instability of capitalist economy is growing. Although production in some capitalist countries is increasing to some degree or other, the contradictions of capitalism are becoming more acute on a national as well as international scale. Some capitalist countries are faced with the threat of new economic upheavals while still grappling with the consequences of the recent economic crisis. The anarchical nature of capitalist production is becoming more marked. Capitalist concentration is assuming unprecedented dimensions, and monopoly profits and superprofits are growing. Monopoly capital has greatly intensified the exploitation of the working class in new forms, above all through intensification of labor. Automation and "rationalization" under capitalism bring the working people further calamities. Only by a stubborn struggle has the working class in some countries succeeded in winning a number of its pressing demands. In many capitalist countries, however, the standard of life is still below pre-war. Despite the promises made by the bourgeoisie, full employment was provided only in some of the capitalist countries, and only temporarily. The domination of the monopolies is causing increasing harm to the interests of the broad peasant masses and large sections of the small and middle bourgeoisie. In the capitalist countries, including some of the more developed, economically underdeveloped areas still exist where the poverty of the masses is appalling, and these, moreover, continue to expand.

These facts once again refute the lies which bourgeois ideologists and

revisionists spread to the effect that modern capitalism has become "people's capitalism," that it has established a so-called "welfare state" capable of overcoming the anarchy of production and economic crisis and assuring well-being for all working people.

The uneven course of development of capitalism is continuously changing the balance of forces between the imperialist countries. The narrower the sphere of imperialist domination, the stronger the antagonisms between the imperialist powers. The problem of markets has become more acute than ever. The new inter-state organizations which are established under the slogan of "integration" actually lead to increased antagonisms and struggle between the imperialist countries. They are new forms of division of the world capitalist market among the biggest capitalist combines, of penetration by stronger imperialist states of the economy of their weaker partners.

The decay of capitalism is particularly marked in the United States of America, the chief imperialist country of today. U. S. monopoly capital is clearly unable to use all the productive forces at its command. The richest of the developed capitalist countries of the world—the United States of America—has become a land of especially big chronic unemployment. Increasing under-capacity operation in industry has become permanent in that country. Despite the enormous increase in military appropriations, which is achieved at the expense of the standard of life of the working people, the rate of growth of production has been declining in the post-war years and has been barely above the growth of population. Over-production crises have become more frequent. The most developed capitalist country has become a country of the most distorted, militarized economy. More than any other capitalist country, the United States drains Asia, and especially Latin America, of their riches, holding up their progress. U. S. capitalist penetration into Africa is increasing. *U.S. imperialism has become the biggest international exploiter.*

The U. S. imperialists seek to bring many states under their control, by resorting chiefly to the policy of military blocs and economic "aid." They violate the sovereignty of developed capitalist countries as well. The dominant monopoly bourgeoisie in the more developed capitalist countries, which

has allied itself with U. S. imperialism, sacrifices the sovereignty of their countries, hoping with support from the U. S. imperialists to crush the revolutionary liberation forces, deprive the working people of democratic freedoms and impede the struggle of the masses for social progress. U. S. imperialism involves those countries in the arms race, in a policy of preparing a new war of aggression and carrying on subversive activities against socialist and neutral countries.

The pillars of the capitalist system have become so decayed that the ruling imperialist bourgeoisie in many countries can no longer resist on its own the forces of democracy and progress which are gaining in scope and strength. The imperialists form military-political alliances under U. S. leadership to fight in common against the socialist camp and to strangle the national-liberation, working-class and socialist movements. *International developments in recent years have furnished many new proofs of the fact that U. S. imperialism is the chief bulwark of world reaction and an international gendarme, that it has become an enemy of the peoples of the whole world.*

The system of military blocs set up by the United States is being weakened both by the struggle going on between their members and as a result of the struggle which the people are waging for the abolition of these blocs. The U. S. imperialists seek to strengthen aggressive blocs, which causes increased resistance on the part of the people. The United States remains the main economic, financial and military force of modern imperialism, although its share in capitalist economy is diminishing. The British and French imperialists are making stubborn efforts to uphold their positions. The monopolies of West Germany and Japan, which have recovered their might and which are closely linked with the U. S. monopolies, are stepping up expansion. The West German monopolies, in pursuing their imperialist policy, seek more and more to exploit the underdeveloped countries.

The peoples are rising with growing determination to fight imperialism. A great struggle is getting under way between the forces of labor and capital, of democracy and reaction, of freedom and colonialism. The victory of the popular revolution in Cuba has become a splendid example for the peoples of Latin America. An anti-colonial move-

ment for freedom and national independence is expanding irresistibly in Africa. The anti-imperialist national up-rising in Iraq has been crowned with success. A powerful movement of the people against the Japanese-U.S. military alliance, for peace, democracy and national independence, is under way in Japan. Vigorous actions by the masses in Italy in defence of democracy show the militant resolve of the working people. The struggle for democracy, against the reactionary regime of personal power, is gathering momentum in France. There have been big working-class strikes in the U.S.A., Argentina, Uruguay, Chile, India, Britain, Canada, Belgium and other capitalist countries. The actions of the Negro people in the United States for their fundamental rights are assuming a mass character. There is a growing desire to unite the national forces against the fascist dictatorships in Spain and Portugal, and the democratic movement is gaining strength in Greece. Tyrannical military regimes have been overthrown in Colombia and Venezuela, a blow has been dealt to frankly pro-American puppet governments in South Korea and Turkey. A national-democratic movement, directed against the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys, is developing in South Vietnam and Laos. The Indonesian people are doing away with the economic positions the imperialists still retain in that country, particularly the positions held by the Dutch colonialists. The mass movement in defence of peace is gaining ground in all continents. All this is graphic evidence that the tide of anti-imperialist, national-liberation, anti-war and class struggles is rising ever higher.

A new stage has begun in the development of the general crisis of capitalism. This is shown by the triumph of socialism in a large group of European and Asian countries embracing one-third of mankind, the powerful growth of the forces fighting for socialism throughout the world and the steady weakening of the imperialists' positions in the economic competition with socialism; the tremendous new upsurge of the national-liberation struggle and the mounting disintegration of the colonial system; the growing instability of the entire world economic system of capitalism; the sharpening contradictions of capitalism resulting from the growth of state-monopoly capitalism and militarism; the increas-

ing contradictions between monopolies and the interests of the nation as a whole; the curtailment of bourgeois democracy and the tendency to adopt autocratic and fascist methods of government; and a profound crisis in bourgeois politics and ideology. This stage is distinguished by the fact that it has set in not as a result of the world war, but in the conditions of competition and struggle between the two systems, an increasing change in the balance of forces in favor of socialism, and a marked aggravation of all the contradictions of imperialism. It has taken place at a time when a successful struggle by the peace-loving forces to bring about and promote peaceful co-existence has prevented the imperialist from undermining world peace by their aggressive actions, and in an atmosphere of growing struggle by the broad masses of the people for democracy, national liberation and socialism.

All the revolutionary forces are rallying against imperialist oppression and exploitation. The peoples who are building socialism and communism, the revolutionary movement of the working class in the capitalist countries, the national-liberation struggle of the oppressed peoples and the general democratic movement—these great forces of our time are merging into one powerful current that undermines and destroys the world imperialist system. The central factors of our day are the international working class and its chief creation, the world socialist system. They are an earnest of victory in the struggle for peace, democracy, national liberation, socialism and human progress.

II

A new stage has begun in the development of the world socialist system. The Soviet Union is successfully carrying on the full-scale construction of a communist society. Other countries of the socialist camp are successfully laying the foundations of socialism, and some of them have already entered the period of construction of a developed socialist society.

The socialist system as a whole has scored decisive victories. These victories signify the triumph of Marxism-Leninism; they show clearly to all the peoples who are under the domination of capital that a society based on this science opens up immense op-

portunities for the fullest development of economy and culture, for the provision of a high standard of living and a peaceful and happy life for people.

The Soviet people, successfully carrying out the Seven-Year Economic Development Plan, are rapidly building up a material and technical basis for communism. Soviet science has ushered in what is virtually a new era in the development of world civilization; it has initiated the exploration of outer space, furnishing impressive evidence of the economic and technical might of the socialist camp. The Soviet Union is the first country in history to be blazing a trail to communism for all mankind. It is the most striking example and most powerful bulwark for the peoples of the world in their struggle for peace, democratic freedoms, national independence and social progress.

The people's revolution in China dealt a crushing blow at the positions of imperialism in Asia and contributed in great measure to the balance of the world forces changing in favor of socialism. By giving a further powerful impetus to the national-liberation movement, it exerted tremendous influence on the peoples, especially those of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

The people's democratic republics of Albania, Bulgaria, Hungary, the German Democratic Republic, the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, China, the Korean People's Democratic Republic, Mongolia, Poland, Rumania and the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, which, together with the great Soviet Union, form the mighty socialist camp, have within a historically short period made remarkable progress in socialist construction.

People's government in these countries has proved its unshakable solidity. Socialist relations of production predominate in the national economy; the exploitation of man by man has been abolished forever, or is being abolished. The success of the policy of socialist industrialization has led to a great economic upsurge in the socialist countries, which are developing their economy much faster than the capitalist countries. All these countries have established a developed industry; agrarian in the past, they have become, or are becoming, industrial-agrarian countries.

In recent years all the People's Democracies have solved, or have been

successfully solving, the most difficult problem of socialist construction, that of transferring the peasantry, on a voluntary basis, from the road of small private farming to the road of large-scale co-operative farming on socialist lines. Lenin's co-operative plan has proved its great vitality both for countries where the peasants' attachment to private land ownership was a longstanding tradition and for countries that have recently put an end to feudal relations. The fraternal alliance of workers and peasants, which is led by the working class, and the maintenance and consolidation of which is, as Lenin taught, a supreme principle of the dictatorship of the proletariat, has grown stronger. In the course of socialist construction this alliance of two classes of working people, which constitutes the political foundation of the socialist system, develops continuously, and further strengthens people's rule under the leadership of the working class and promotes the socialist reorganization of agriculture in accordance with the Leninist principle of voluntary co-operation of the peasantry.

Historic changes have taken place in the social structure of society. The classes of landlords and capitalists no longer exist in the People's Democracies. The working class has become the main force of society; its ranks are growing; its political consciousness and maturity have increased. Socialism has delivered the peasantry from age-long poverty and has made it an active force in social progress. A new, socialist intelligentsia, flesh of the flesh of the working people, is arising. All citizens have free access to knowledge and culture. Socialism has thus created not only political but material conditions for the cultural development of society, for the all-round and complete development of the gifts and abilities of man. The standard of life of the people is improving steadily thanks to economic progress.

An unbreakable alliance of the working people of all nationalities has formed and has been consolidated in multi-national socialist states. The triumph of Marxist-Leninist national policy in the socialist countries, genuine equality of nationalities, and their economic and cultural progress serve as an inspiring example for the peoples fighting against national oppression.

In the People's Democracies, socialist ideology has achieved notable successes

in its struggle against bourgeois ideology. It is a long struggle that will go on until the complete emancipation of the minds of people from the survivals of bourgeois ideology.

The moral and political unity of society, which for the first time in history has come into existence and firmly established itself in the Soviet Union, is growing now in the other socialist countries as well. This makes it possible to use the creative energy of free workers most effectively for promoting the growth of the productive forces and the prosperity of socialist society.

Socialist society is improving steadily and becoming more and more mature; day after day it gives rise to a Communist attitude to labor and other elements of the future Communist society. The methods of socialist economic management and economic planning are steadily improving. Socialist democracy continues to develop; the masses are playing an increasing role in directing economic and cultural development; certain functions of the state are being gradually transferred to public organizations.

Today the restoration of capitalism has been made socially and economically impossible not only in the Soviet Union, but in the other socialist countries as well. The combined forces of the socialist camp reliably safeguard every socialist country against encroachments by imperialist reaction. Thus the rallying of the socialist states in one camp and the growing unity and steadily increasing strength of this camp ensure complete victory for socialism within the entire system.

Thanks to the heroic effort of the working class and the peasantry and to the tremendous work of the Communist and Workers' Parties, most favorable objective opportunities have been provided in the past years for the further rapid development of the productive forces, for gaining the maximum time and achieving victory for the socialist countries in peaceful economic competition with capitalism. The Marxist-Leninist Parties heading the socialist countries consider it their duty to make proper use of these opportunities.

Having achieved major victories and without serious tests, the Communist Parties have gained ample and varied experience in directing socialist construction. The socialist countries and the socialist camp as a whole owe

their achievements to the proper application of the general objective laws governing socialist construction, with due regard to the historical peculiarities of each country and to the interests of the entire socialist system; they owe them to the efforts of the peoples of those countries, to their close fraternal co-operation and mutual internationalist assistance, and above all, to the fraternal, internationalist assistance from the Soviet Union.

The experience of development of the socialist countries is added evidence that mutual assistance and support, and utilization of all the advantages of unity and solidarity among the countries of the socialist camp, are a primary international condition for their achievements and successes. Imperialist, renegade and revisionist hopes of a split within the socialist camp are built on sand and doomed to failure. All the socialist countries cherish the unity of the socialist camp like the apple of their eye.

The world economic system of socialism is united by common socialist relations of production and is developing in accordance with the economic laws of socialism. Its successful developments requires consistent application, in socialist construction, of the law of planned, proportionate development; encouragement of the creative initiative of the people; continuous improvement of the system of international division of labor through the co-ordination of national economic plans, specialization and co-operation in production within the world socialist system on the basis of voluntary participation, mutual benefit and vigorous improvement of the scientific and technological standard. It requires study of collective experience; extended co-operation and fraternal mutual assistance; gradual elimination, along these lines, of historical differences in the levels of economic development; and the provision of a material basis for a more or less simultaneous transition of all the peoples of the socialist system to communism.

Socialist construction in the various countries is a source of collective experience for the socialist camp as a whole. A thorough study of this experience by the fraternal parties, and its proper utilization and elaboration with due regard to specific conditions and national peculiarities are an immutable law of the development of every socialist country.

In developing industrial and agricultural production in their countries at a high rate in keeping with the possibilities they have, the Communist and Workers' Parties of the socialist countries consider it their internationalist duty to make full use of all the advantages of the socialist system and the internal resources of every country to carry out, by joint effort and as speedily as possible, the historic task of surpassing the world capitalist system in over-all industrial and agricultural production and then outstripping the economically most developed capitalist countries in per capita output and in the standard of living. To carry out this task, it is necessary steadily to improve political and economic work, continuously to improve the methods of economic management and to run the socialist economy along scientific lines. This calls for higher productivity of labor to be achieved through continuous technical progress, economic planning, strict observance of the Leninist principle of providing material incentives and moral stimuli to work for the good of society by beheading the political consciousness of the people, and for control over the measure of labor and consumption.

To provide a material basis for the transition of the socialist countries to communism, it is indispensable to achieve a high level of production through the use of the latest techniques, electrification of the national economy, mechanization and automation of production, without which it is impossible to provide the abundance of consumer goods required by a communist society. On this basis, it is necessary to develop communist social relations, vigorously promote the political consciousness of the people and educate the members of the new, communist society.

The socialist camp is a social, economic and political community of free and sovereign peoples united by the close bonds of international socialist solidarity, by common interests and objectives, and following the path of socialism and communism. It is an inviolable law of the mutual relations between socialist countries strictly to adhere to the principles of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism. Every country in the socialist camp is ensured genuinely equal rights and independence. Guided by the principles of complete equality, mutual advantage and comradely mutual assistance, the socialist states improve their all-round

economic, political and cultural co-operation, which meets both the interests of each socialist country and those of the socialist camp as a whole.

One of the greatest achievements of the world socialist system is the practical confirmation of the Marxist-Leninist thesis that national antagonisms diminish with the decline of class antagonisms. In contrast to the laws of the capitalist system, which is characterized by antagonistic contradictions between classes, nations and states leading to armed conflicts, there are no objective causes in the nature of the socialist system for contradictions and conflicts between the peoples and states belonging to it. Its development leads to greater unity among the states and nations and to the consolidation of all the forms of co-operation between them. Under socialism, the development of national economy, culture and statehood goes hand in hand with the strengthening and development of the entire world socialist system, and with an ever greater consolidation of the unity of nations. The interests of the socialist system as a whole and national interests are harmoniously combined. It is on this basis that the moral and political unity of all the peoples of the great socialist community has arisen and has been growing. Fraternal friendship and mutual assistance of peoples, born of the socialist system, have superseded the political isolation and national egoism typical of capitalism.

The common interests of the peoples of the socialist countries and the interests of peace and socialism demand the proper combination of the principles of socialist internationalism and socialist patriotism in politics. Every Communist Party in the state, bears historical responsibility for the destinies of both its country and the entire socialist camp.

The Declaration of 1957 points out quite correctly that undue emphasis on the role of national peculiarities and departure from the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism regarding the socialist revolution and socialist construction prejudice the common cause of socialism. The Declaration also states quite correctly that Marxism-Leninism demands creative application of the general principles of socialist revolution and socialist construction depending on the specific historical conditions in the country concerned, and does not permit of a mechanical copy-

ing of the policies and tactics of the Communist Parties of other countries. Disregard of national peculiarities may lead the party of the proletariat to being isolated from reality, from the masses, and many injure the socialist cause.

Manifestations of nationalism and national narrow-mindedness do not disappear automatically with the establishment of the socialist system. If fraternal relations and friendship between the socialist countries are to be strengthened, it is necessary that the Communist and Workers Parties pursue a Marxist-Leninist internationalist policy, that all working people be educated in a spirit of internationalism and patriotism, and that a resolute struggle be waged to eliminate the survivals of bourgeois nationalism and chauvinism.

The Communist and Workers Parties tirelessly educate the working people in the spirit of socialist internationalism and intolerance of all manifestations of nationalism and chauvinism. Solidarity of the Communist and Workers Parties and of the peoples of the socialist countries, and their loyalty to Marxism-Leninism are the main source of the strength and invincibility of each socialist country and the socialist camp as a whole.

In blazing a trail to communism, the peoples of the socialist countries are creating a prototype of a new society for all mankind. The working people of the capitalist world are following the constructive effort of the builders of socialism and communism with keen interest. This makes the Marxist-Leninist Parties and the peoples of the socialist countries accountable to the international working-class movement for the successful building of socialism and communism.

The Communist and Workers Parties see it as their task indefatigably to strengthen the great socialist community of nations, whose international role in and influence upon the course of world events are growing from year to year.

The time has come when the socialist states have, by forming a world system, become an international force exerting a powerful influence on world development. There are now real opportunities of solving cardinal problems of modern times in a new way, in the interest of peace, democracy and socialism.

The problem of war and peace is the most burning problem of our time.

War is a constant companion of capitalism. The system of exploitation of man by man and the system of extermination of man by man are two aspects of the capitalist system. Imperialism has already inflicted two devastating world wars on mankind and now threatens to plunge it into an even more terrible catastrophe. Monstrous means of mass annihilation and destruction have been developed which, if used in a new war, can cause unheard-of destruction to entire countries and reduce key centers of world industry and culture to ruins. Such a war would bring death and suffering to hundreds of millions of people, among them people in countries not involved in it. Imperialism spells grave danger to the whole of mankind.

The peoples must now be more vigilant than ever. As long as imperialism exists there will be soil for wars of aggression.

The peoples of all countries know that the danger of a new world war still persists. U.S. imperialism is the main force of aggression and war. Its policy embodies the ideology of militant reaction. The U.S. imperialists, together with the imperialists of Britain, France and West Germany, have drawn many countries into NATO, CENTO, SEATO and other military blocs under the guise of combating the "communist menace"; it has enmeshed the so-called "free world," that is, capitalist countries which depend on them, in a network of military bases spearheaded first and foremost against the socialist countries. The existence of these blocs and bases endangers universal peace and security and not only encroaches upon the sovereignty but also imperils the very life of those countries which put their territory at the disposal of the U.S. militarists.

The imperialist forces of the U.S.A., Britain and France have made a criminal deal with West-German imperialism. In West Germany, militarism has been revived and the restoration is being pushed ahead of a vast regular army under the command of Hitler generals, which the U.S. imperialists are equipping with nuclear and rocket weapons and other modern means of mass annihilation, a fact which draws emphatic protests from the peace-loving peoples. Military bases are being provided for this aggressive army in France and other West-European countries. The threat to peace and the security of the European nations from

West-German imperialism, is increasing. The West-German revenge-seekers openly declare their intention to revise the borders established after the Second World War. Like the Hitler clique in its day, the West-German militarists are preparing war against the socialist and other countries of Europe, and strive to effect their own aggressive plans. West Berlin has been transformed into a seat of international provocation. The Bonn state has become the chief enemy of peaceful coexistence, disarmament and relaxation of tension in Europe.

The aggressive plans of the West-German imperialists must be opposed by the united might of all the peace-loving countries and nations of Europe. An especially big part in the struggle against the aggressive designs of the West-German militarists is played by the German Democratic Republic. The Meeting regards it as the duty of all the countries of the socialist camp and of all the peace-loving peoples to defend the German Democratic Republic—the outpost of socialism in Western Europe and the true expression of the peace aspirations of the German nation.

The U.S. imperialists are also busy reviving the hotbed of war in the Far East. Trampling upon the national independence of the Japanese people and contrary to their will, they have, in collusion with the Japanese reactionary ruling circles, imposed upon Japan a new military treaty which pursues aggressive aims against the Soviet Union, the Chinese People's Republic and other peace-loving countries. The U.S. invaders have occupied the island of Taiwan, which belongs to the Chinese People's Republic, and South Korea and are interfering more and more in the affairs of South Viet-Nam; they have turned them into hotbeds of dangerous military provocations and gambles. Threatening Cuba with aggression and interfering in the affairs of the peoples of Latin America, Africa and the Middle East, the U.S. imperialists strive to create new seats of war in different parts of the world. They use such forms of regional alliance as, for example, the Organization of American States, to retain their economic and political control and to involve the peoples of Latin America in the realization of their aggressive schemes.

The U.S. imperialists have set up a huge war machinery and refuse to

allow its reduction. The imperialists frustrate all constructive disarmament proposals by the Soviet Union and other peaceful countries. The arms race is going on. Stockpiles of nuclear weapons are becoming dangerously large. Defying protests from their own people and the peoples of other countries, particularly in the African continent, the French ruling circles are testing and manufacturing atomic weapons. The U.S. militarists are preparing to resume disastrous atomic tests; military provocations that threaten serious international conflicts continue.

The U.S. ruling circles have wrecked the Paris meeting of the Heads of Government of the four Great Powers by their policy of provocations and aggressive acts, and have set out to increase international tension and aggravate the cold war. The war menace has grown.

The imperialist provocations against peace have aroused the indignation and resistance of the peoples. U.S. imperialism has exposed itself still more and its influence in the world has sustained fresh and telling blows.

The aggressive nature of imperialism has not changed. But real forces have appeared that are capable of foiling its plans of aggression. War is not fatally inevitable. Had the imperialists been able to do what they wanted, they would already have plunged mankind into the abyss of the calamities and horrors of a new world war. But the time is past when the imperialists could decide at will whether there should or should not be war. More than once in the past years the imperialists have brought mankind to the brink of world catastrophe by starting local wars. The resolute stand of the Soviet Union, of the other socialist states and of all the peaceful forces put an end to the Anglo-Franco-Israeli intervention in Egypt, and averted a military invasion of Syria, Iraq and some other countries by the imperialists. The heroic people of Algeria continue their valiant battle for independence and freedom. The peoples of the Congo and Laos are resisting the criminal acts of the imperialists with increasing firmness. Experience shows that it is possible to combat effectively the local wars started by the imperialists, and to stamp out successfully the hotbeds of such wars.

The time has come when the attempts of the imperialist aggressors to start a world war can be curbed.

It will war can be prevented by the not efforts of the world socialist camp, the international working class, the national-liberation movement, all the countries opposing war and all peace-loving forces.

The development of international relations in our day is determined by the struggle of the two social systems—the struggle of the forces of socialism, peace and democracy against the forces of imperialism, reaction and aggression—a struggle in which the superiority of the forces of socialism, peace and democracy is becoming increasingly obvious.

For the first time in history, war is opposed by great and organized forces: the mighty Soviet Union, which now leads the world in the decisive battles of science and technology; the entire socialist camp, which has placed its great material and political might at the service of peace; a growing number of peace-loving countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, which have a vital interest in preserving peace; the international working class and its organizations, above all the Communist Parties; the national-liberation movement of the people of the colonies and dependent countries; the world peace movement; and the neutral countries which want no share in the imperialist policy of war, and advocate peaceful coexistence. The policy of peaceful coexistence is also favored by a definite section of the bourgeoisie of the developed capitalist countries, which takes a sober view of the relationship of forces and of the consequences of a modern war. The broadest possible united front of peace supporters, fighters against the imperialist policy of aggression and war, inspired by U.S. imperialism, is essential to preserve world peace. Continued and vigorous actions of all the forces of peace can safeguard the peace and prevent a new war.

The democratic and peace forces today have no task more pressing than that of safeguarding humanity against a global thermonuclear disaster. The unprecedented destructive power of modern means of warfare demands that the main actions of the anti-war and peace-loving forces be directed towards preventing war. The struggle against war cannot be put off until war breaks out, for then it may prove too late for many areas of the globe and for their population to combat it. *The struggle against the threat of a*

new war must be waged now and not when atom and hydrogen bombs begin to fall, and it must gain in strength from day to day. The important thing is to curb the aggressors in good time, to prevent war, and not to let it break out.

To fight for peace today means to maintain the greatest vigilance, indelibly to lay bare the policy of the imperialists, to keep a watchful eye on the intrigues and maneuvers of the warmongers, arouse the righteous indignation of the peoples against those who are heading for war, organize the peace forces still better, continuously intensify mass actions for peace, and promote co-operation with all countries which have no interest in new wars. In the countries where the imperialists have established war bases, it is necessary to step up the struggle for their abolition, which is an important factor for fortifying national independence, defending sovereignty, and preventing war. The struggle of the peoples against the militarization of their countries should be combined with the struggle against the capitalist monopolies connected with the U. S. imperialists. Today as never before, it is important to fight perseveringly in all countries to make the peace movement thrive and extend to towns and villages, factories and offices.

The peace movement is the broadest movement of our time, involving people of diverse political and religious creeds, of diverse classes of society, who are all united by the noble urge to prevent new wars and to secure enduring peace.

Further consolidation of the world socialist system will be of prime importance in preserving durable peace. So long as there is no disarmament, the socialist countries must maintain their defence potential at an adequate level.

In the opinion of Communists the tasks which must be accomplished first of all if peace is to be safeguarded are to stop the arms race, ban nuclear weapons, their tests and production, dismantle foreign war bases and withdraw foreign troops from other countries, disband military blocs, conclude a peace treaty with Germany, turn West Berlin into a demilitarized free city, thwart the designs of the West-German revisionists, and prevent the revival of Japanese militarism.

History has placed a great responsibility for warding off a new world

war first and foremost on the international working class. The imperialists plot and join forces to start a thermonuclear war. The international working class must close its ranks to save mankind from the disaster of a new world war. No political, religious or other differences should be an obstacle to all the forces of the working class uniting against the war danger. *The hour has struck to counter the forces of war by the mighty will and joint action of all the contingents and organizations of the world proletariat, to unite its forces to avert world war and safeguard peace.*

The Communist Parties regard the fight for peace as their prime task. They call on the working class, trade unions, co-operatives, women's and youth leagues and organizations, on all working people, irrespective of their political and religious convictions, firmly to repulse by mass struggles all acts of aggression on the part of the imperialists.

But should the imperialist maniacs start war, the peoples will sweep capitalism out of existence and bury it.

The foreign policy of the socialist countries rests on the firm foundation of the Leninist principle of peaceful coexistence and economic competition between the socialist and capitalist countries. In conditions of peace, the socialist system increasingly reveals its advantages over the capitalist system in all fields of economy, culture, science and technology. The near future will bring the forces of peace and socialism new successes. The U.S.S.R. will become the leading industrial power of the world. China will become a mighty industrial state. The socialist system will be turning out more than half the world industrial product. The peace zone will expand. The working-class movement in the capitalist countries and the national-liberation movement in the colonies and dependencies will achieve new victories. The disintegration of the colonial system will become completed. The superiority of the forces of socialism and peace will be absolute. *In these conditions a real possibility will have arisen to exclude even before socialism achieves complete victory on earth, with capitalism still existing in a part of the world. The victory of socialism all over the world will completely remove the social and national causes of all wars.*

The Communists of all the world uphold peaceful coexistence unanimously and consistently, and battle resolutely for the prevention of war. The Communists must work unflinchingly among the masses to prevent underestimation of the possibility of averting a world war, underestimation of the possibility of peaceful coexistence and, at the same time, underestimation of the danger of war.

In a world divided into two systems, the only correct and reasonable principle of international relations is the principle of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems advanced by Lenin and further elaborated in the Moscow Declaration and the Peace Manifesto of 1957, in the decisions of the 20th and 21st Congresses of the C.P.S.U., and in the documents of other Communist and Workers' Parties.

The five Principles jointly advanced by the Chinese People's Republic and the Republic of India, and the propositions adopted at the Bandung Conference accord with the interests of peace and the peace-loving peoples.

Peaceful coexistence of countries with different systems or destructive war—this is the alternative today. There is no other choice. Communists emphatically reject the U.S. doctrine of "cold war" and "brinkmanship," for it is a policy leading to thermonuclear catastrophe. By upholding the principle of peaceful coexistence, Communists fight for the complete cessation of the cold war, disbandment of military blocs, and dismantling of military bases, for general and complete disarmament under international control, the settlement of international disputes through negotiation, respect for the equality of states and their territorial integrity, independence and sovereignty, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, extensive development of trade, cultural and scientific ties between nations.

The policy of peaceful coexistence meets the basic interests of all peoples, of all who want no new cruel wars and seek durable peace. This policy strengthens the positions of socialism, enhances the prestige and international influence of the socialist countries and promotes the prestige and influence of the Communist Parties in the capitalist countries. Peace is a loyal ally of socialism, for time is working for socialism against capitalism.

The policy of peaceful coexistence is a policy of mobilizing the masses and launching vigorous action against the enemies of peace. Peaceful coexistence does not imply renunciation of the class struggle as the revolutionists claim. The coexistence of states with different social systems is a form of class struggle between socialism and capitalism. In conditions of peaceful coexistence favorable opportunities are provided for the development of the class struggle in the capitalist countries and the national-liberation movement of the peoples of the colonial and dependent countries. In their turn, the successes of the revolutionary class and national-liberation struggle promote peaceful coexistence. The Communists consider it their duty to fortify the faith of the people in the possibility of furthering peaceful coexistence, their determination to prevent world war. They will do their utmost for the people to weaken imperialism and limit its sphere of action by an active struggle for peace, democracy and national liberation.

Peaceful coexistence of countries with different social systems does not mean conclusion of the socialist and bourgeois ideologies. On the contrary, it implies intensification of the struggle of the working class, of all the Communist Parties, for the triumph of socialist ideas. But ideological and political disputes between states must not be settled through war.

The meeting considers that the implementation of the program for general and complete disarmament put forward by the Soviet Union would be of historic importance for the denier of mankind. To realize this program means to eliminate the very possibility of waging wars between countries. It is not easy to realize owing to the stubborn resistance of the imperialists. Hence it is essential to wage an active and determined struggle against the aggressive imperialist forces with the aim of carrying this program into practice. It is necessary to wage this struggle on an increasing scale and to strive perseveringly to achieve tangible results—the banning of the testing and manufacture of nuclear weapons, the abolition of military blocs and war bases on foreign soil and a substantial reduction of armed forces and armaments, all of which should pave the way to general disarmament. Through an active, determined struggle by the socialist and other peace-

loving countries, by the international working class and the broad masses in all countries, it is possible to isolate the aggressive circles, foil the arms race and war preparations, and force the imperialists into an agreement on general disarmament.

The arms race is not a war-deterrent, nor does it make for a high degree of employment and well-being of the population. It leads to war. Only a handful of monopolies and war speculators are interested in the arms race. In the capitalist countries, the people constantly demand that military expenditures be reduced and the funds thus released be used to improve the living conditions of the masses. In each country, it is necessary to promote a broad mass movement, for the use of the funds and resources to be released through disarmament for the needs of civilian production, housing, health, public education, social security, scientific research, etc. Disarmament has now become a fighting slogan of the masses, a pressing historical necessity. By an active and resolute struggle, the imperialists must be made to meet this demand of the peoples.

The Communist and Worker's Parties of the socialist countries will go on consistently pursuing the policy of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems and doing their utmost to spare the peoples the horrors and calamities of a new war. They will display the greatest vigilance towards imperialism, vigorously strengthen the might and defensive capacity of the entire socialist camp and take every step to safeguard the security of the peoples and preserve peace.

The Communists regard it as their historical mission not only to abolish exploitation and poverty on a world scale and rule out for all time the possibility of any kind of war in the life of human society, but also to deliver mankind from the nightmare of a new world war already in our time. The Communist Parties will devote all their strength and energy to this great historical mission.

IV.

National-liberation revolutions have triumphed in vast areas of the world. About forty new sovereign states have arisen in Asia and Africa in the fifteen post-war years. The victory of the Cuban revolution has powerfully stimulated the struggle of the Latin Ameri-

can peoples for complete national independence. A new historical period has set in in the life of mankind: the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America that have won their freedom have begun to take an active part in world politics.

The complete collapse of colonialism is imminent. The breakdown of the system of colonial slavery under the impact of the national-liberation movement is a development ranking second in historic importance only to the formation of the world socialist system.

The Great October Socialist Revolution aroused the East and drew the colonial peoples into the common current of the world-wide revolutionary movement. This development was greatly facilitated by the Soviet Union's victory in the Second World War, the establishment of people's democracy in a number of European and Asian countries, the triumph of the socialist revolution in China, and the formation of the world socialist system. The forces of world socialism contributed decisively to the struggle of the colonial and dependent peoples for liberation from imperialist oppression. The socialist system has become a reliable shield for the development of the peoples who have won freedom. The national-liberation movement receives powerful support from the international working-class movement.

The face of Asia has changed radically. The colonial order is collapsing in Africa. A front of active struggle against imperialism has opened in Latin America. Hundreds of millions of people in Asia, Africa and other parts of the World have won their independence in hard-fought battles with imperialism. Communists have always recognized the progressive, revolutionary significance of national-liberation wars; they are the most active champions of national independence. The existence of the world socialist system and the weakening of the positions of imperialism have provided the oppressed peoples with new opportunities of winning independence.

The peoples of the colonial countries win their independence both through armed struggle and by non-military methods, depending on the specific conditions in the country concerned. They secure durable victory through a powerful national-liberation movement. The colonial powers never bestow freedom on the colonial peoples and never leave of their own free

will the countries they are exploiting. The United States is the mainstay of colonialism today. The imperialists, headed by the U.S.A., make desperate efforts to preserve colonial exploitation of the peoples of the former colonies by new methods and in new forms. The monopolies try to retain their hold on the levers of economic control and political influence in Asian, African and Latin American countries. These efforts are aimed at preserving their positions in the economy of the countries which have gained freedom, and at capturing new positions under the guise of economic "aid," drawing them into military blocs, implanting military dictatorships and setting up war bases there. The imperialists endeavor to enslave and undermine the national sovereignty of the newly-free countries, to misrepresent the principle of self-determination of nations, to impose new forms of colonial domination under the spurious slogan of "inter-dependence," to put their puppets in power in these countries and bribe a section of the bourgeoisie.

They resort to the poisoned weapon of national strife to undermine the young states that are not yet strong enough. They make ample use of aggressive military blocs and bilateral military alliances, to achieve these ends. The imperialists' accomplices are the most reactionary sections of the local exploiting classes.

The urgent tasks of national rebirth facing the countries that have shaken off the colonial yoke cannot be effectively accomplished unless a determined struggle is waged against imperialism and the remnants of feudalism by all the patriotic forces of the nations united in a single national-democratic front. The national democratic tasks on the basis of which the progressive forces of the nation can and do unite in the countries which have won their freedom, are: the consolidation of political independence, the carrying out of agrarian reforms in the interest of the peasantry, elimination of the survivals of feudalism, the uprooting of imperialist economic domination, and their expulsion from the national economy, the creation and development of a national industry, improvement of the living standard, the democratization of social life, the pursuance of an independent and peaceful foreign policy, and the development of economic and cultural co-

operation with the socialist and other friendly countries.

The working class, which has played an outstanding role in the fight for national liberation, demands the complete and consistent accomplishment of the tasks of the national, anti-imperialist, democratic revolution, and resists reactionary attempts to check social progress.

The solution of the peasant problem, which directly affects the interests of the vast majority of the population, is of the utmost importance to these countries. Without radical agrarian reforms it is impossible to solve the food problem and sweep away the remnants of medievalism which fetter the development of the productive forces in agriculture and industry. The creation and extension on a democratic basis of the state sector in the national economy, particularly in industry, a sector independent from foreign monopolies and gradually becoming a determining factor in the country's economy, is of great importance in these countries.

The alliance of the working class and the peasantry is the most important force in winning and defending national independence, accomplishing far-reaching democratic transformations and ensuring social progress. This alliance is called upon to be the basis of a broad national front. The extent to which the national bourgeoisie participates in the liberation struggle also depends to no small degree upon its strength and stability. A big role can be played by the national-patriotic forces, by all elements of the nation prepared to fight for national independence, against imperialism.

In present conditions, the national bourgeoisie of the colonial and dependent countries, unconnected with imperialist circles, is objectively interested in the principal tasks of anti-imperialist, anti-federal revolution, and therefore retains the capacity of participating in the revolutionary struggle against imperialism and feudalism. In that sense it is progressive. But it is unstable; though progressive, it is inclined to compromise with imperialism and feudalism. Owing to its dual nature, the extent to which the national bourgeoisie participates in revolution differs from country to country. This depends on concrete conditions, on changes in the relationship of class forces, on the sharpness of the contradictions between imperialism, feudalism and the people, and on the depth of the con-

traditions between imperialism, feudalism and the national bourgeoisie.

After winning political independence the peoples seek solutions to the social problems raised in life and to the problems of reinforcing national independence. Different classes and parties offer different solutions. Which course of development to choose is the internal affair of the peoples themselves. As social conditions change, the national economy and training national personnel, and cooperating with domestic reaction and imperialism. The people, however, begin to see that the best way to abolish age-long backwardness and improve their living standard is that of non-capitalist development. Only thus can the peoples free themselves from exploitation, poverty and hunger. The working class and the broad peasant masses are to play the leading part in solving this basic social problem.

In the present historical situation, favorable domestic and international conditions arise in many countries for the establishment of an independent national democracy, that is, a state which consistently upholds its political and economic independence, fights against imperialism and its military blocs, against military bases on its territory, a state which fights against the new forms of colonialism and the penetration of imperialist capital, a state which rejects dictatorial and despotic methods of government, a state in which the people are ensured broad democratic rights and freedoms (freedom of speech, press, assembly, demonstrations, establishment of political parties and social organizations), the opportunity to work for the enactment of an agrarian reform and other democratic and social changes, and for participation in shaping government policy. The formation and consolidation of national democracies enables the countries concerned to make rapid social progress and play an active part in the peoples' struggle for peace, against the aggressive policies of the imperialist camp, for the complete abolition of the colonial yoke.

The Communist Parties are working actively for a consistent completion of the anti-imperialist, anti-federal, democratic revolution, for the establishment of national democracies, for a radical improvement in the living standard of the people. They support those actions of national governments leading to the consolidation of the gains achieved and undermining the imperialists' positions. At the same time they firmly

oppose anti-democratic, anti-popular acts and those measures of the ruling circles which endanger national independence. Communists expose attempts by the reactionary section of the bourgeoisie to represent its selfish, narrow class interests as those of the entire nation; they expose the demagogic use by bourgeois politicians of socialist slogans for the same purpose; they work for a genuine democratization of social life and rally all the progressive forces to combat despotic regimes or to curb tendencies towards setting up such regimes.

The aims of the Communists accord with the supreme interests of the nation. The reactionaries' effort to break up the national front under the slogan of "anti-communism" and isolate the Communists, the foremost contingent of the liberation movement, is contrary to the national interests of the people and is fraught with the loss of national gains.

The socialist countries are true and sincere friends of the peoples fighting for liberation and of those who have thrown off the imperialist yoke. While rejecting on principle any interference in the internal affairs of young national states, they consider it their internationalist duty to help the peoples in strengthening their independence. They help and support these countries generously in achieving progress, creating a national industry, developing and consolidating the national economy and training national personnel, and cooperate with them in the struggle for world peace, against imperialist aggression.

The class-conscious workers of the colonial powers, who realized that "no nation can be free if it oppresses other nations," fought consistently for the self-determination of the nations oppressed by the imperialists. Now that these nations are taking the path of national independence, it is the internationalist duty of the workers and all democratic forces in the industrially developed capitalist countries to assist them vigorously in their struggle against the imperialists, for national independence, for its consolidation, and to assist them in effectively solving the problems of their economic and cultural rebirth. In so doing, they defend the interests of the popular masses in their own countries.

The entire course of the world history of recent decades prompts the complete and final abolition of the col-

onial system in all its forms and manifestations. All the peoples still languishing in colonial bondage must be given every support in winning their national independence. All forms of colonial oppression must be abolished. The abolition of colonialism will also be of great importance in easing international tension and consolidating universal peace. This Meeting expresses solidarity with all the peoples of Asia, Africa, Latin America and Oceania who are carrying on a heroic struggle against imperialism. The Meeting hails the peoples of the young states of Africa who have achieved political independence—an important step towards complete emancipation. The Meeting extends heart-felt regards and support to the heroic Algerian people fighting for freedom and national independence, and demands an immediate cessation of the aggressive war against Algeria. It wrathfully condemns the inhuman system of racial persecution and tyranny in the Union of South Africa (apartheid) and urges democrats throughout the world to actively support the peoples of South Africa in their struggle for freedom and equality. The Meeting demands non-interference in the sovereign rights of the peoples of Cuba, the Congo and all the other countries that have won their freedom.

All the socialist countries and the international working-class and Communist movement see it as their duty to render the fullest moral and material assistance to the peoples fighting to free themselves from imperialist and colonial tyranny.

V

The new balance of world forces offers the Communist and Workers' Parties new opportunities of carrying out the historic tasks they face in the struggle for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism.

The Communist Parties determine the prospects and tasks of revolution in keeping with the concrete historical and social conditions obtaining in their respective countries and with due regard for the international situation. They are waging a selfless struggle, doing everything already in present conditions, without waiting until socialism triumphs, to defend the interests of the working class and the people, improve their living conditions and extend the democratic rights and free-

doms of the people. Knowing that the brunt of the struggle for the liberation of its people from capitalist oppression rests upon it, the working class and its revolutionary vanguard will with increasing energy press forward its offensive against the domination of oppressors and exploiters in every field of political, economic and ideological activity in each country. In the process of this struggle, the masses are prepared and conditions arise for decisive battles for the overthrow of capitalism, for the victory of socialist revolution.

The main blow in present conditions is directed with growing force at the capitalist monopolies, which are chiefly responsible for the arms race and which constitute the buttress of reaction and aggression, at the whole system of state monopoly capitalism, which defends their interests.

In some non-European developed capitalist countries which are under the political, economic and military domination of U.S. imperialism, the working class and the people direct the main blow against U.S. imperialist domination, and also against monopoly capital and other domestic reactionary forces that betray the interests of the nation. In the course of this struggle all the democratic, patriotic forces of the nation come together in a united front fighting for the victory of a revolution aimed at achieving genuine national independence and democracy, which create conditions for passing on to the tasks of socialist revolution.

The big monopolies encroach on the interests of the working class and the people in general all along the line. The exploitation of working people is gaining in intensity, so is the process in which the broad peasant masses are being ruined. At the same time, the difficulties experienced by the small and middle urban bourgeoisie are growing more acute. The oppression of the big monopolies is becoming increasingly heavier for all sections of the nation. As a result, the contradiction between the handful of monopoly capitalists and all sections of the people is now growing more pronounced, along with the sharpening of the basic class contradiction of bourgeois society—that between labor and capital.

The monopolies seek to abolish, or cut down to a bare minimum, the democratic rights of the masses. The reign of open fascist terror continues in some countries. In a number of countries,

fascination is expanding in new forms: dictatorial methods of government are combined with fictitious parliamentary practices that have been stripped of democratic content and reduced to pure form. Many democratic organizations are outlawed and are compelled to go underground, thousands of fighters for the working-class cause and champions of peace are in prison.

On behalf of all the Communists of the world, this Meeting expresses proletarian solidarity with the courageous sons and daughters of the working class and the fighters for democracy, languishing behind prison bars in the U.S.A., Spain, Portugal, Japan, West Germany, Greece, Iran, Pakistan, the United Arab Republic, Jordan, Iraq, Argentina, Paraguay, the Dominican Republic, Mexico, the Union of South Africa, the Sudan and other countries. The Meeting urges launching a powerful, world-wide campaign to secure the release of these champions of peace, national independence and democracy.

The working class, peasantry, intellectuals and the petty and middle urban bourgeoisie are vitally interested in the abolition of monopoly domination. Hence there are favorable conditions for rallying these forces.

Communists hold that this unity is quite feasible on the basis of the struggle for peace, national independence, the protection and extension of democracy, nationalization of the key branches of economy and democratization of their management, the use of the entire economy for peaceful purposes in order to satisfy the needs of the population, implementation of radical agrarian reforms, improvement of the living conditions of the working people, protection of the interests of the peasantry and the petty and middle urban bourgeoisie against the tyranny of the monopolies.

These measures would be an important step along the path of social progress and would meet the interests of the majority of the nation. All these measures are democratic by nature. They do not eliminate the exploitation of man by man. But if realized, they would limit the power of the monopolies, enhance the prestige, and political weight of the working class in the country's affairs, help to isolate the most reactionary forces and facilitate the unification of all the progressive forces. As they participate in the fight for dramatic reforms, large sections of the population come to realize

the necessity of unity of action with the working class and become more active politically. It is the prime duty of the working class and its Communist vanguard to head the economic and political struggle of the masses for democratic reforms, for the overthrow of the power of the monopolies, and assure its success.

Communists advocate general demoralization of the economic and social scene and of all the administrative, political and cultural organizations and institutions.

Communists regard the struggle for democracy as a component of the struggle for socialism. In this struggle they continuously strengthen their bonds with the masses, increase their political consciousness and help them understand the tasks of the socialist revolution and realize the necessity of accomplishing it. This sets the Marxist-Leninist Parties completely apart from the reformists, who consider reforms within the framework of the capitalist system as the ultimate goal and deny the necessity of socialist revolution. Marxists-Leninists are firmly convinced that the peoples in the capitalist countries will in the course of their daily struggle ultimately come to understand that socialism alone is a real way out for them.

Now that more sections of the population are joining in an active class struggle, it is of the utmost importance that Communists should extend their work in trade unions and cooperatives, among the peasantry, the youth, the women, in sports organizations, and the unorganized sections of the population. There are new opportunities now to draw the younger generation into the struggle for peace and democracy, and for the great ideals of communism. Lenin's great behest—to go deeper into the masses, to work wherever there are masses, to strengthen the ties with the masses in order to lead them—must become a major task for every Communist Party.

The restoration of unity in the trade-union movement in countries where it is split, as well as on the international scale, is essential for heightening the role of the working class in political life and for the successful defence of its interests. The working people may belong to different trade unions, but they have common interests. Whenever different trade-union associations fought in common in the greatest class battles of recent

years, they usually succeeded, precisely because of their unity, in having the demands of the working people met. The Communist Parties believe that there are real prerequisites for reestablishing trade-union unity, and will work perseveringly to bring it about. In those countries where no trade-union democracy exists in practice, the struggle for trade-union unity calls for continuous efforts aimed at achieving trade-union independence and recognition and observance of the trade-union rights of all working people without political and any other discrimination.

It is also essential to peace and social progress that the national and international unity of all the other mass democratic movements be restored. Unity among the mass organizations may be achieved through joint action in the struggle for peace, national independence, the preservation and extension of democratic rights, the improvement of living conditions and the extension of the working people's social rights.

The decisive role in the struggle of the popular masses of capitalist countries for the accomplishment of their tasks is played by the alliance of the working class and the working peasantry, which represents the main motive force of social revolution.

The split in the ranks of the working class, which the ruling classes, the Right-wing Social-Democratic leadership and reactionary trade-union leaders are interested to maintain on a national and international scale, remains the principal obstacle to the accomplishment of the goals of the working class. Communists work resolutely to eliminate this split.

The imperialists and reactionaries in various countries resort, along with means of suppression, to means of deception and bribery in order to split and disrupt the solidarity of the working class. The events of the last few years have again confirmed that this split undermines the positions of the working class and is advantageous only to imperialist reaction.

Some Right-wing Social-Democratic leaders have openly adopted imperialist views, defend the capitalist system and split the working class. Owing to their hostility to communism and their fear of the mounting influence of socialism in world affairs, they are capitulating to the reactionary, conservative forces. In some countries the Right-

...the Social-Democratic Parties adopted a program in which they openly disavowed Marxism, the class struggle and the traditional socialist slogans. Therefore, they have again done a service to the bourgeoisie. Resistance to this policy of the Right-wing leaders is tantamount to the Social-Democratic Parties. The opposition also embraces a section of the Social-Democratic Party leadership. The forces favoring joint action by the working class and other working people in the struggle for peace, democracy and social progress are growing. The overwhelming majority in the Social-Democratic Parties, especially the workers, are friends of peace and social progress.

Communism will continue to criticize the ideological positions and Right-wing opportunist practices of the Social-Democrats; they will continue actively engaged at inducing the Social-Democratic masses to adopt positions of consistent class struggles against capitalism, for the triumph of socialism. The Communists are firmly convinced that the ideological differences obtained between themselves and the Social-Democrats must not hinder exchanges of opinion on the pressing problems of the working-class movement and the anti-imperialist struggle, especially against the war danger.

Communists regard Social-Democrats among the working people as their class brothers. They often work together in trade unions and other organizations, and fight jointly for the interests of the working class and the people as a whole.

The vital interests of the working-class movement demand that the Communist and Social-Democratic Parties take joint action on a national and international scale to bring about the immediate prohibition of the manufacture, testing and use of nuclear weapons, the establishment of atom-free zones, general and complete disarmament under international control, the abolition of military bases on foreign soil and the withdrawal of foreign troops, to assist the national-liberation movement of the peoples of colonial and dependent countries, to safeguard national sovereignty, promote democracy and resist the fascist menace, improve the living standards of the working people, secure a shorter working week without wage cuts, etc. Millions of Social-Democrats and some Social-Democratic Parties have already in

some form or another come out in favor of solving these problems. It is safe to say that on overcoming the split in its ranks, on achieving unity of action of all its countries in 1945, the working class of many capitalist countries could deliver a staggering blow to the policy of the ruling circles in the capitalist countries and make them stop preparing a new war, repel the offensive of monopoly capital, and have its daily vital and democratic demands met.

Both in the struggle for the improvement of the living conditions of working people, the extension and preservation of their democratic rights, the achievement and defence of national independence, for peace among nations, and also in the struggle to win power and build socialism, the Communist Parties advocate cooperation with the Socialist Parties. The Communists have the great doctrine of Marxism-Leninism, a doctrine that is consistent, scientifically sustained and borne out by life, and rich international experience in socialist construction. They are prepared to hold discussions with Social-Democrats, for they are certain that this is the best way to compare views, ideas and experience with the aim of removing deep-rooted prejudices and the split among the working people, and of establishing co-operation.

The imperialist reactionaries, who seek to arouse distrust for the Communist movement and its ideology, continue to intimidate the masses by alleging that the Communists need wars between states to overthrow the capitalist system and establish a socialist system. The Communist Parties emphatically reject this slander. The fact that both world wars, which were started by the imperialists, ended in socialist revolutions by no means implies that the way to social revolution goes necessarily through world war, especially now that there exists a powerful world system of socialism. Marxists-Leninists have never considered that the way to social revolution lies through wars between states.

The choice of social system is the inalienable right of the people of each country. Socialist revolution is not an item of import and cannot be imposed from without. It is a result of the internal development of the country concerned, of the utmost sharpening of social contradictions in it. *The Communist Parties, which guide themselves by the Marxist-Leninist doctrine, have*

always been against the export of revolution. At the same time they fight resolutely against imperialist export of counter-revolution. They consider it their internationalist duty to call on the peoples of all countries to unite, to rally all their internal forces, to act vigorously and, relying on the might of the world socialist system, to prevent or firmly resist imperialist interference in the affairs of any people who have risen in revolution.

The Marxist-Leninist Parties head the struggle of the working class, the masses of working people, for the accomplishment of the socialist revolution and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat in one form or another. The forms and course of development of the socialist revolution will depend on the specific balance of the class forces in the country concerned, on the organization and maturity of the working class and its vanguard, and on the extent of the resistance put up by the ruling classes. Whatever form of dictatorship of the proletariat is established, it will always signify an extension of democracy, a transition from formal, bourgeois democracy to genuine democracy, to democracy for working people.

The Communist Parties reaffirm the propositions put forward by the Declaration of 1957 with regard to the forms of transition of different countries from capitalism to socialism.

The Declaration points out that the working class and its vanguard—the Marxist-Leninist Party—seek to achieve the socialist revolution by peaceful means. This would accord with the interests of the working class and the people as a whole, with the national interests of the country.

Today in a number of capitalist countries the working class, headed by its vanguard, has the opportunity, given a united working-class and popular front or other workable forms of agreement and political co-operation between the different parties and public organizations, to unite a majority of the people, win state power without civil war and ensure the transfer of the basic means of production to the hands of the people. Relying on the majority of the people and resolutely rebuffing the opportunist elements incapable of relinquishing the policy of compromise with the capitalists and landlords, the working class can defeat the reactionary, anti-popular forces, secure a firm majority in

parliament, transform parliament from an instrument serving the class interests of the bourgeoisie into an instrument serving the working people, launch an extra-parliamentary mass struggle, smash the resistance of the reactionary forces and create the necessary conditions for peaceful realization of the socialist revolution. All this will be possible only by broad and ceaseless development of the class struggle of the workers, peasant masses and the urban middle strata against big monopoly capital, against reaction, for profound social reforms, for peace and socialism.

In the event of the exploiting classes resorting to violence against people, the possibility of non-peaceful transition of socialism should be borne in mind. Leninism teaches, and experience confirms, that the ruling classes never relinquish power voluntarily. In this case the degree of bitterness and the forms of the class struggle will depend not so much on the proletariat as on the resistance put up by the reactionary circles to the will of the overwhelming majority of the people, on these circles using force at one or another stage of the struggle for socialism.

The actual possibility of the one or the other way of transition to socialism in each individual country depends on the concrete historical conditions.

In our time, when communism is not only the most advanced doctrine but an actually existing social system which has proved its superiority over capitalism, conditions are particularly favorable for expanding the influence of the Communist Parties, vigorously exposing anti-communism, a slogan under which the capitalist class wages its struggle against the proletariat and winning the broadest sections of the working masses for Communist ideas.

Anti-communism arose at the dawn of the working-class movement as the principal ideological weapon of the capitalist class in its struggle against the proletariat and Marxist ideology. As the class struggle grew in intensity, particularly with the formation of the world socialist system, anti-communism became more vicious and refined. Anti-communism, which is indicative of a deep ideological crisis in and extreme decline of bourgeois ideology, resorts to monstrous distortions of Marxist doctrine and crude slander against the

socialist social system, presents Communist policies and objectives in a false light, and carries on a witchhunt against the democratic peaceful forces and organizations.

To effectively defend the interests of the working people, maintain peace and realize the socialist ideals of the working class, it is indispensable to wage a resolute struggle against anti-communism—that poisoned weapon which the bourgeois uses to fence off the masses from socialism. A greater effort is required in explaining the ideas of socialism to the masses, to educate the working people in a revolutionary spirit, to develop their revolutionary class consciousness and to show all working people the superiority of socialist society by referring to the experience of the countries of the world socialist system, demonstrating in concrete form the benefits which socialism will actually give to workers, peasants and other sections of the population in each country.

Communism assures people freedom from fear of war, lasting peace, freedom from imperialist oppression and exploitation, from unemployment and poverty, general well-being and a high standard of living, freedom from fear of economic crisis; a rapid growth of the productive forces for the benefit of society as a whole; freedom from the tyranny of the moneybag over the individual; all-round spiritual development of man; the fullest development of talent; unlimited scientific and cultural progress of society. All the sections of the population, with the exception of a handful of exploiters, stand to gain from the victory of the new social system, and this must be brought home to millions of people in the capitalist countries.

VI.

The world Communist movement has become the most influential political force of our time, a most important factor in social progress. As it fights bitterly against imperialist reaction, for the interests of the working class and all working people, for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism, the Communist movement is making steady headway, is becoming consolidated and steered.

There are now Communist Parties active in 87 countries of the world. Their total membership exceeds 36,000,000. This is a signal victory for

Marxism-Leninism and a tremendous achievement of the working class. Like-minded Marxists are rallying in the countries which have shaken off colonial tyranny and taken the path of independent development. Communist Parties consider it their internationalist duty to promote friendship and solidarity between the working class of their countries and the working-class movement of the countries which have won their freedom in the common struggle against imperialism.

The growth of the Communist Parties and their organizational consolidation, the victories of the Communist Parties in a number of countries in the struggle against deviations, elimination of the harmful consequences of the personality cult, the greater influence of the world communist movement open new prospects for the successful accomplishment of the tasks facing the Communist Parties.

Marxist-Leninist Parties regard it as an inviolable law of their activity steadfastly to observe the Leninist standards of Party life in keeping with the principle of democratic centralism; they consider that they must cherish Party unity like the apple of their eye, strictly to adhere to the principle of Party democracy and collective leadership, for they attach, in keeping with the organizational principles of Leninism, great importance to the role of the leading party bodies in the life of the Party, to work indefatigably for the strengthening of their bonds with the Party membership and, with the broad masses of the working people, not to allow the personality cult, which shackles creative thought and initiative of Communists, vigorously to promote the activity of Communists, and to encourage criticism and self-criticism in their ranks.

The Communist Parties have ideologically defeated the revisionists in their ranks who sought to divert them from the Marxist-Leninist path. Each Communist Party and the international Communist movement as a whole have become still stronger, ideologically and organizationally, in the struggle against revisionism, Right-wing opportunism.

The Communist Parties have unanimously condemned the Yugoslav variety of international opportunism, a variety of modern revisionist "theories" in concentrated form. After betraying Marxism-Leninism, which they termed obsolete, the leaders of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia opposed their anti-Leninist revisionist program

to the Declaration of 1957; they set the L.C.Y. against the international Communist movement as a whole, severed their country from the socialist camp, made it dependent on so-called "aid" from U.S. and other imperialists, and thereby exposed the Yugoslav people to the danger of losing the revolutionary gains achieved through a heroic struggle. The Yugoslav revisionists carry on subversive work against the socialist camp and the world Communist movement. Under the pretext of an extra-bloc policy, they engage in activities which prejudice the unity of all the peace-loving forces and countries. Further exposure of the leaders of Yugoslav revisionists and active struggle to safeguard the Communist movement and the working-class movement from the anti-Leninist ideas of the Yugoslav revisionists, remains an essential task of the Marxist-Leninist Parties.

The practical struggles of the working class and the entire course of social development have furnished a brilliant new proof of the great all-conquering power and vitality of Marxism-Leninism, and have thoroughly refuted all modern revisionist "theories."

The further development of the Communist and working-class movement calls, as stated in the Moscow Declaration of 1957, for continuing a determined struggle on two fronts—against revisionism, which remains the main danger, and against dogmatism and sectarianism.

Revisionism, Right-wing opportunism, which mirrors the bourgeois ideology in theory and practice, distorts Marxism-Leninism, emasculates its revolutionary essence, and thereby paralyzes the revolutionary will of the working class, disarms and demobilizes the workers, the masses of the working people, in their struggle against oppression by imperialists and exploiters, for peace, democracy and national liberation, for the triumph of socialism.

Dogmatism and sectarianism in theory and practice can also become the main danger at some stage of development of individual parties, unless combated unflinchingly. They rob revolutionary parties of the ability to develop Marxism-Leninism through scientific analysis and apply it creatively according to the specific conditions; they isolate Communists from the broad masses of the working people, doom them to passive expectation or Leftist, adventurist actions in the revolutionary struggle, prevent them from

making a timely and correct estimate of the changing situation and of new experience, using all opportunities to bring about the victory of the working class and all democratic forces in the struggle against imperialism, reaction and war danger, and thereby prevent the peoples from achieving victory in their just struggle.

At a time when imperialist reaction is joining forces to fight communism it is particularly imperative vigorously to consolidate the world Communist movement. Unity and solidarity redouble the strength of our movement and provide a reliable guarantee that the great cause of communism will make victorious progress and all enemy attacks will be effectively repelled.

Communists throughout the world are united by the great doctrine of Marxism-Leninism and by a joint struggle for its realization. The interests of the Communist movement require of the Communist movement solidarity in adherence by every Communist Party to the estimates and conclusions concerning the common tasks in the struggle against imperialism, for peace, democracy and socialism, jointly reached by the fraternal Parties at their meetings.

The interests of the struggle for the working-class cause demand ever closer unity of the ranks of each Communist Party and of the great army of Communists of all countries; they demand of them unity of will and action. It is the supreme internationalist duty of every Marxist-Leninist Party to work continuously for greater unity in the world Communist movement.

A resolute defence of the unity of the world Communist movement on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, and the prevention of any actions which may undermine that unity, are a necessary condition for victory in the struggle for national independence, democracy and peace, for the successful accomplishment of the tasks of the socialist revolution and of the building of socialism and communism. Violation of these principles would impair the forces of communism.

All the Marxist-Leninist Parties are independent and have equal rights; they shape their policies according to the specific conditions in their respective countries and in keeping with Marxist-Leninist principles, and support each other. The success of the working-class cause in any country is unthinkable without the internationalist soli-

darity of all Marxist-Leninist parties. Every party is responsible to the working class, to the working people of its country, to the international working-class and Communist movement as a whole.

The Communist and Workers' Parties hold meetings whenever necessary to discuss urgent problems, to exchange experience, acquaint themselves with each other's views and positions, work out common views through consultations and co-ordinate joint actions in the struggle for common goals.

Whenever a Party wants to clear up questions relating to the activities of another fraternal Party, its leadership approaches the leadership of the Party concerned, if necessary, they hold meetings and consultations.

The experience and results of the meetings of representatives of the Communist Parties held in recent years, particularly the results of the two major meetings—that of November, 1957 and this Meeting—show that in present-day conditions such meetings are an effective form of exchanging views and experience, enriching Marxist-Leninist theory by collective effort and elaborating a common attitude in the struggle for common objectives.

The Communist and Workers' Parties unanimously declare that the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has been, and remains, the universally recognized vanguard of the world Communist movement, being the most experienced and steered contingent of the international Communist movement. The experience which the C.P.S.U. has gained in the struggle for the victory of the working class, in socialist construction and in the full-scale construction of communism, is of fundamental significance for the whole of the world Communist movement. The example of the C.P.S.U. and its fraternal solidarity inspire all the Communist Parties in their struggle for peace and socialism, and represent the revolutionary principles of proletarian internationalism applied in practice. The historic decisions of the 20th Congress of the C.P.S.U. are not only of great importance for the C.P.S.U. and communist construction in the U.S.S.R., but have initiated a new stage in the world Communist movement, and have promoted its development on the basis of Marxism-Leninism.

All Communist and Workers' Parties contribute to the development of the great theory of Marxism-Leninism. Mutual assistance and support in relations

between all the fraternal Marxist-Leninist Parties embody the revolutionary principles of proletarian internationalism applied in practice.

Ideological issues are of especial significance today. The exploiting class tries to counteract the achievements of socialism by exerting ever greater ideological pressure on the masses as it seeks to keep them in spiritual bondage to bourgeois ideology. Communists regard it as their task to launch a determined offensive on the ideological front, to work for the emancipation of the masses from the spiritual bondage of all types and forms of bourgeois ideology, including the pernicious influence of reformism, to disseminate among the masses progressive ideas making for social advancement, the ideas of democratic freedom, the ideology of scientific socialism.

Historical experience shows that the survivals of capitalism in the minds of people persist over a long period even after the establishment of a socialist system. This demands extensive work by the Party on the Communist education of the masses and a better Marxist-Leninist training and steeling of Party and government cadres.

Marxism-Leninism is a great integral revolutionary doctrine, the lodestar of the working class and working people of the whole world at all stages of their great battle for peace, freedom and a better life, for the establishment of the most just society, communism. Its great creative, revolutionizing power lies in its unbreakable link with life, in its continuous enrichment through a comprehensive analysis of reality. On the basis of Marxism-Leninism, the community of socialist countries and the international Communist, working-class and liberation movements have achieved great historic success, and it is only on its basis that all the tasks facing the Communist and Workers' Parties can be effectively accomplished.

The meeting sees the further consolidation of the Communist Parties on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, of proletarian internationalism, as a primary condition for the mitigation of all working-class, democratic and progressive forces, as a guarantee of new victories in the great struggle waged by the world Communist and working-class movement for a happy future for the whole of mankind, for the triumph of the cause of peace and socialism.

Appendix B

Khrushchev Report On Moscow Conference*

(Text) Comrades: The conference of representatives of 81 Marxist-Leninist parties held in Moscow in November, 1960 will enter the history of the world communist and workers' movement as one of its most vivid pages. This conference profoundly analyzed the present-day international situation and worked out positions common for our movement pertaining to the most important questions. As a result of this conference, held in an atmosphere of fraternal unity, the many-million-strong family of communists of all countries rallied even closer on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, and its forces in the heroic struggle for the triumph of the cause of peace and socialism increased.

Participating in the work of the conference, the most representative in the whole history of the communist and workers' movement, were veterans of our movements hardened in class struggles who in long years of severe struggle had not faltered under the torture of fascist henchmen and other enemies of the working class. Participating in the conference were prominent leaders of Marxist-Leninist parties of socialist countries, representatives of communist parties which are waging under difficult conditions a heroic struggle against capitalism, the fighting leaders of the national liberation movement—in other words, the elite of the international communist movement.

Now, when in all countries of the world communists are vividly discussing and unanimously approving the statement of the conference and the appeal to the peoples of the world, it becomes particularly evident that the participants in the conference did not in vain spend much time and effort in their common cause. The working

people of mankind are convinced that the Marxist-Leninist parties have justified the hopes of the peoples.

More than one billion people of the countries of the socialist camp watched the work of the conference with rapt attention. They are confident that as a result of the conference the socialist camp will become even stronger and that the ranks of the international communist movement will be rallied even more closely.

The working class, the workers of the capitalist countries, awaited the answers to the questions on how best to carry on the struggle for their revolutionary aims, for social progress, for democratic rights and freedoms, and how to give a more successful rebuff to imperialist reaction.

The fighters for national independence awaited an answer to the questions on how one can rapidly put an end forever to the shameful system of colonialism and insure the development of the countries that have become liberated on the path of national independence, peace, and social progress.

All peace-loving mankind awaited the answer to the most burning question of the present day—how to prevent a world thermonuclear war and attain lasting peace on earth and friendship among all the peoples, and how to insure peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems.

Hundreds of millions of people in all the countries of the world felt a satisfaction on learning the results of the work of the conference.

As a result of the conference, the ideological treasure house of international communism has become greatly enriched. The statement unanimously adopted at the conference is a militant Marxist-Leninist document of tremendous international importance. It confirms allegiance of the communist parties to the declaration of 1957. At the same time it contains a profound analysis of new phenomena in the world arena and contains important theoretical and political deductions for the activity of all the Marxist-Leninist parties. The statement will serve as a true compass in the further struggle for the great aims that confront com-

* Text of Nikita Khrushchev's report, "For New Victories" of the World Communist Movement," at the meeting of party organizations of the Higher Party School, the Academy of Social Sciences, and the Institute of Marxism-Leninism Attached to the Central Committee of the CPSU on Jan. 6, as published in *Kommunist*, No. 1, January, 1961.

munists, the working class, and progressive people of all countries.

The declaration gives the Marxist-Leninist definition of the current era and shows the fresh prospects opening before the international communist, workers, and liberation movement. The documents of the conference point the way for development of the world socialist system and for further unification of the socialist camp. They determine the major problems of the struggle by the working class in capitalist countries, the struggle for liquidation of the disgraceful colonial system and unification of all forces acting against the threat of a new war.

The appeal to the peoples of the world contains a fiery call to unite in struggle for solution of the most burning problem of our times—prevention of a world war. The appeal again demonstrates that it is precisely we communists who are the most consistent defenders of the interests of the masses and indicate the only correct way of preserving and strengthening peace.

The work of the conference was imbued with a spirit of proletarian internationalism, party democracy, and an aspiration for even greater consolidation of the unity of the communist ranks. The delegations of all the parties presented their views, exchanged experiences, and contributed to the assessment and elaboration of the basic problems of the present day.

A strengthening of the unity of the ranks of the world communist movement and an even greater consolidation of the world communist front on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism are the principal outcome of the conference. This is a new ideological and political victory for the communists, a victory of major historic significance. At the same time, it is another defeat for the enemies of communism and progress. The imperialists and their lackeys were bitterly disappointed when they studied the documents of the conference. We have every reason to state firmly that the unity of the world communist movement, which the imperialist reactionaries fear like the very devil, has now gained more strength. This is a great success for our common cause.

Our epoch is the epoch of the triumph of Marxism-Leninism.

The analysis of the world situation at the beginning of the sixties can only evoke in every fighter in the great communist movement feelings of profound satisfaction and legitimate

pride. Indeed, comrades, life has greatly surpassed even the boldest and most optimistic predictions and expectations. Once it was customary to say that history was working for socialism; at the same time, one remembered that mankind would dump capitalism and that socialism would be victorious. Today, it is possible to assert that socialism is working for history, for the basic content of the contemporary historical process constitutes the establishment and consolidation of socialism on an international scale.

In 1913, four years before the October Revolution, our immortal leader and teacher Vladimir Ilich Lenin wrote that since the time of the Communist Manifesto world history had been distinctly divided into three major periods: 1) From the 1848 Revolution to the Paris Commune in 1871, 2) from the Paris Commune to the Russian Revolution in 1905, and 3) since the Russian Revolution. He concluded the description of these periods this way: Since the emergence of Marxism each of the three great epochs in world history has been supplying it with new confirmations and new triumphs; but Marxism, as the teaching of the proletariat, will be supplied with even greater triumphs by the present historical epoch. These are prophetic words. They became reality with striking force and accuracy. The historical epoch brilliantly foreseen by Vladimir Ilich Lenin has become a qualitative, basic, new era in world history. Not a single preceding era can be compared to it.

These were the eras when the working class was gaining strength, when its heroic struggle, though shaking the foundations of capitalism, was as yet unable to solve the major problem of the transfer of power into the hands of the workers.

The new era differs from all the preceding ones in the universal historic triumph of socialism initiated in October, 1917. Since then Marxist-Leninist teaching has been achieving one triumphal victory after another, and now its strength and its transforming role are felt not only within individual countries and continents, but in social development in all parts of the world.

There are a number of reasons which make the march of socialism invincible. In the first place, Marxism-Leninism today dominates the minds of literally hundreds of millions of people and thereby constitutes, if one is to apply Marx's words, a mighty material

force. Furthermore, Marxism-Leninism now appears before mankind not only as a theory, but as a living reality. The socialist society which is being created in the boundless expanses of Europe and Asia today represents this teaching.

Now a force does not exist in the world, nor can one exist, that can hold back the increasing tendency by which the masses see with their own eyes and, so to speak, feel with their own hands, what socialism is like—no, not in books and manifestoes, but in life, in practice. There is now no force in the world that can stem the movement toward socialism by the peoples in all the new countries.

Another circumstance is of prime importance. If yesterday hundreds of millions of people in Asia, Africa, and Latin America were suppressed by the yoke of the imperialist civiliziers, today the picture is radically changing. The revolutionary emergence of more and more peoples into the world arena creates exceptionally favorable conditions for an unprecedented broadening of the sphere of influence of Marxism-Leninism.

The time is not far away when Marxism-Leninism will possess the minds of the majority of the world's population. What has been going on in the world in the 43 years since the triumph of the October Revolution completely confirms the scientific accuracy and vitality of the Leninist theory of the world socialist revolution.

Under current conditions it is useful to recall, in Lenin's terms, the actual process of the world socialist revolution, the forces participating in it. The socialist revolution, Lenin indicated, will not be solely and largely a struggle by the revolutionary proletarians in each country against its own bourgeoisie. No, it will be a struggle by all the colonies and countries oppressed by imperialism, of all dependent countries, against international imperialism.

Stressing that this struggle is aimed primarily at national liberation, Lenin said: It is quite clear that in the future decisive battles of the world revolution, the movement of the majority of the population of the globe at first aimed at national liberation will turn against capitalism and imperialism and may play a much greater revolutionary part than we expect.

Now that the world socialist system has already come into existence, in

the time of the greatest upsurge of anti-imperialist national liberation revolutions, it is essential to determine the future course, the prospects of world events. This is impossible, however, without a deep understanding of the nature, substance, and character of the decisive tasks of our era. The question of the character of the era is by no means an abstract or a narrow theoretical question. The general strategic line and tactics of world communism, of each communist party, are closely related to it.

Ideologists of imperialism, including their accomplices in the camp of reformism and revisionism, are relying particularly on the distortion of the character of the present era. Such falsification pursues quite a definite aim: to disorientate the broad masses of the people, to lead them away from the revolutionary path, to bind them to the chariot of imperialism, to present things as if capitalism were not in agony, but were performing a sort of calculated evolutionary transformation toward socialism. This is precisely the notorious theory of the so-called transformation of capitalism.

The falsifiers maintain that literally all classes of society are interested in such a transformation and allege that this being so, peace and harmony prevail in the world of capitalism. Such is the picture of the modern era painted by bourgeois ideologists, right-wing social democrats, and the revisionist renegades of communism. It is not fortuitous that the ideologists of capitalism are trying to substitute for the concept of capitalism and imperialism such artificial concepts as "people's capitalism" or "welfare state."

We must, of course, unmask these ideological diversions and oppose them by our scientific Marxist-Leninist assessment of the era. We must do that to determine correctly the correlation of forces, to exploit new possibilities which the present era opens up for the further advancement of our great cause.

What requirements should a Marxist-Leninist appraisal of our epoch meet? It should provide a clear idea of which class stands in the center of the era and what the essence, direction, and tasks of social development are. It should cover the whole revolutionary process from the formation of socialism to the full victory of communism. It should indicate the forces which side with the working class, standing in the center of our era, and the

movements which contribute to the general anti-imperialist stream.

Socialist revolution has achieved victory in a large number of countries, socialism has become a powerful world system, the colonial system of imperialism verges on complete disintegration, and imperialism is in a state of decline and crisis. The definition of our epoch must reflect these decisive events.

The statement of the conference provides the following definition of our era: Our era, whose essence is the transition from capitalism to socialism begun by the great October Socialist Revolution, is an era of the struggle of two diametrically opposed social systems, an era of socialist revolutions and national liberation revolutions, an era of the collapse of capitalism and of liquidation of the colonial system, an era of the change to the road of socialism by more and more nations, and of the triumph of socialism and communism on a world scale.

This definition of the nature of the current era can be regarded as an example of the creative, truly scientific solution of a big, weighty problem. The strength of this definition is that it correctly characterizes the main achievement of the world liberation movement and opens before the communist and workers movement clear prospects for the worldwide victory.

Defining the essence and nature of the entire current era, it is highly important that we understand the chief peculiarities and distinctive characteristics of its present stage. If one approaches an evaluation of the post-October period from the point of view of its principal motive forces, this period is clearly divided into two stages:

The first began with the victory of the October Revolution. This was the period of the assertion and development of, as Lenin put it, the national dictatorship of the proletariat—i.e., the dictatorship of the proletariat within the national boundaries of Russia alone. Although the Soviet Union, from the very first days of its existence, exercised an exceptional influence on international life, imperialism nevertheless greatly determined the course and nature of international relations. But, even then imperialism proved itself unable to smash the Soviet Union, to prevent its becoming the mighty industrial power which became the stronghold of the cause of progress and civilization, the center of attraction of all forces opposing imperialist

oppression and fascist enslavement.

The second stage of development of the current era is connected with the formation of the world socialist system. This is a revolutionary process with universal historic importance.

The October Revolution broke one link in the chain of imperialism. Then a frontal assault on the chain of imperialism was carried out. Previously one had spoken of a breach in the chain of imperialism through one or a number of links, but now, as a matter of fact, there no longer exists an all-enveloping chain of imperialism. The dictatorship of the working class has stepped out of the boundaries of one country, has become an international force.

Imperialism has lost not only those countries in which socialism was victorious; it is rapidly losing almost all its colonies. It is quite understandable that as a result of such blows and losses the general crisis of capitalism has greatly increased, and the balance of forces in the world arena undergone radical changes in favor of socialism.

The principal distinguishing feature of our time is the fact that the world socialist system is becoming a decisive factor in the development of human society. This has been directly reflected also in the sphere of international relations. Under present conditions, prerequisites have been created for socialism to increasingly determine the nature, methods, and ways of international relations. This does not mean that imperialism represents an infinitesimal quantity which can be disregarded. Not at all. Imperialism still possesses great strength. It possesses a strong military machine. Now imperialism has created, under peacetime conditions, a gigantic apparatus of war and a widespread system of blocs, and has subjected their economy to the arms race. American imperialists lay claim to the whole world living under their heel and threaten humanity with a rocket and nuclear war.

Contemporary imperialism is being characterized to an ever-increasing degree by decay and parasitism. In their evaluation of the prospects of international development, Marxist-Leninists do not permit and cannot permit any illusions concerning imperialism. There is countless evidence that imperialists are pursuing a policy of base provocations and aggressions. This is nothing new. What is new is that any intrigues by the imperialists not only

are completely exposed, but are also resolutely rebuffed, and their attempts to unleash local wars are being cut short.

For the first time in history, the present balance of power in the world arena enables the socialist camp and other peace-loving forces to pursue the completely realistic task of compelling the imperialists, under the threat of the downfall of their system, not to unleash a world war.

In connection with the possibility of averting a world war, I should like to dwell on the question concerning the prospects for a further development of the general crisis of capitalism. It is generally known that both World War I and World War II exerted enormous influence on the emergence and deepening of the general crisis of capitalism. Does it follow from this that a world war is a necessary condition for a further intensification of the general crisis of capitalism? Such a conclusion would be profoundly incorrect, since it discounts the Marxist-Leninist theory of the socialist revolution and conflicts with the real reasons for revolution. A proletarian revolution does not result from military cataclysms; it is first of all a consequence of the development of the class struggle and of the internal contradictions of capitalism.

It is perfectly obvious that the establishment of the world system of socialism, the quick progress of the disintegration of the colonial system, the unprecedented upsurge of the struggle of the working class for its rights and interests—that all this undermines the support for capitalism, intensifies its general crisis. The losses of capitalism as a result of these blows are irreparable. This refers both to the entire system of capitalism and to its main power, the United States.

The mightiest power of capitalism has found itself most affected by the general crisis. In the postwar years the blows of economic shocks have fallen with particular frequency. In the postwar period, the United States has experienced three critical production slumps: 1948-1949, 1953-1954, and particularly 1957-1958. During the past year, according to estimates of the American press, U.S. industrial production increased by only 2 percent. For 1961, American economists predict not an increase but a decline of about 3-7 percent in production, and maybe even more. In the USSR production in-

creased about 10 percent in 1960.

It is precisely the monopoly capital of the United States that is revealing its incapability of using the production forces on hand. The richest country of the capitalist world is the country of the largest chronic unemployment. According to clearly optimistic official statistics, the number of unemployed in the United States rose from 2.6 million people in 1956 to 3.8 million in 1959, and to more than 4 million by the end of 1960. Moreover, there is a multimillion army of semiemployed in the United States.

A constant feature in the United States is the growing below-capacity operation of industry. Some 37 percent of the productive capacity of the steel-smelting industry of the United States was idle in 1959, although the output of steel following a steep reduction in the critical year of 1958, increased somewhat. At the end of 1960 less than half of the productive capacity of the steel-smelting industry was used.

In spite of an immense increase in military appropriations, the production growth rate in that country has been falling off in postwar years and is now just managing to keep ahead of the population increase. During 1956-1959, in per capita terms, the output of industrial products in the United States remained at the same level.

Although the United States remains the principal economic, financial, and military force of modern imperialism, its share in the economy and politics of the capitalist world is declining. The U.S. share of industrial output of capitalist countries has fallen from 54 percent in 1950 to 47-48 percent in 1959. While in 1950 the U.S. share in the capitalist countries' steel production amounted to 57.4 percent, in 1959 it fell to 40.4 percent. The U.S. share in the exports of capitalist countries sank from more than 30 percent in 1946, to 21 percent in 1953, and to 17.4 percent in 1959.

Nevertheless, American monopolists have been and remain the principal users and exploiters of the peoples. One is fully justified in concluding that both in the economic field as well as in the field of international politics the main power of capitalism has entered a phase of growing difficulties and crises—the phase of its decline.

As regards the economy of the other capitalist countries, it is also characterized by increasing instability.

Today the capitalist world is not

divided into two imperialist camps, as it was on the eve of both world wars. Nevertheless, it is far from united and is divided by a cruel internal struggle. Even the window of the so-called Atlantic solidarity hides an ugly picture of internal discords and conflicts; the opposition to U.S. leadership and dictat is increasing.

The revival of German militarism and revanchism in the center of Europe restores a most complicated range of Anglo-German, Franco-German, and other imperialist contradictions. If we compare the present position of capitalism with its position after World War II, it becomes clear that a great deepening in the general crisis of capitalism has taken place.

Having profoundly analyzed the whole international situation, the conference reached a conclusion which is of great theoretical and political significance. This conclusion states:

The development of the common crisis of capitalism has reached a new stage. The peculiarity of this stage is that it emerged not in connection with the world war, but in conditions of competition and struggle between the two systems; in the ever-increasing change in the correlation of forces to the advantage of socialism; in the acute aggravation of all the contradictions of imperialism; under conditions when the successful struggle of the peace-loving forces for establishment and stabilization of world coexistence has prevented the imperialists from undermining world peace with their aggressive actions; and under conditions of an increasing struggle by the masses for democracy, national liberation, and socialism.

This bespeaks the further development and deepening of the common crisis of capitalism. Our militant comrades from the communist parties in the capitalist countries take this into consideration in defining their further tactical line in the struggle for the cause of the working class. And it can be said with confidence that the near future will be marked with new successes by the united forces of world socialism, the working class, and the national liberation movement.

Extensive building of communism in the USSR and prospects for development of the world socialist system:

Comrades, the world socialist is the greatest moving force in modern times. The international working class and its communist vanguard regard it as

their duty to strengthen in every way the might and cohesion of the socialist camp—the stronghold of peace, freedom, and independence. It is well known that the conference devoted a great deal of attention to the further development of the world socialist system. The statement set forth important theoretical and political tenets of this development. I would like to dwell now on some of them.

As pointed out in the statement, the primary task of socialist countries is to exploit possibilities inherent in socialism to outstrip, as soon as possible, the world capitalist system in absolute volume of industrial and agricultural production, and then to overtake the most developed capitalist countries in per capita production and living standards.

The period since the 1937 conference of representatives of communist and workers parties is characteristic of the vigorous growth of the economic might and international influence of the world socialist system.

Since then the volume of industrial production in the socialist countries rose 37.1 percent and the industrial output in the capitalist countries increased 7.4 percent. During the same time industrial production in the USSR rose by 23 percent and in the United States by only 4.6 percent. The average annual rate of increase in all the socialist countries amounted to 17 percent, and in the capitalist countries to 3.6 percent. The average annual rate of increase in the USSR in that period amounted to 10.9 percent and in the United States to 2.3 percent.

Socialism has wrought such profound changes in all spheres of life in the people's democracies that today we can assert with legitimate pride that by now not only in the USSR but in all countries of the socialist camp the social-economic possibilities for the restoration of capitalism have been liquidated.

The world socialist system has entered a new stage of development. The C.P.S.U. Central Committee deemed it its duty to inform the world communist forum about the work of our party and to acquaint it with our immediate prospects. Our party is concentrating its efforts on solution of tasks in the extensive construction of a communist society. Chief among these tasks are creation of the material-technical base of communism, development on this foundation of communist social relations, and molding the

man of the future communist society. The most important stage in the creation of the material-technical base of communism in our country is the seven-year plan. In the first two years of the seven-year plan industrial output, according to the target figures, had to increase 17 percent. In fact, however, it increased almost 23 percent. If the present rates are preserved, industrial output will not increase 80 percent in seven years as envisaged in the plan, but will almost double. This will mean that industrial production in an amount of about 90 billion new rubles will be produced in excess of plan.

To explain more clearly what this figure means, let me remind you that Vladimir Ilich Lenin reported with pride to the Fourth Congress of the Communist International that our country in 1922 for the first time had been able to invest 20 million rubles in heavy industry. You see how modest the figures of 1922 were and what possibilities we have today.

In connection with this I want to say a few words about metallurgy. The seven-year plan has been drawn up in such a way that we must produce 86 to 91 million tons of steel in 1965. Last year, we produced 65 million tons, and a 6-million-ton increase in the production of steel has been planned for 1961. This means that we will have to produce 71 million tons.

If in subsequent years of the seven-year plan we insure the same increase as in 1961, then, by the end of 1965, 95 million tons of steel could be produced. But if future steel production increases at the same speed as in the first three years of the seven-year plan, production in 1965 could amount to 100 to 102 million tons.

But at the moment we will not carry out a policy of developing ferrous metallurgy to the absolute limit. We will switch over part of the capital investment into agriculture and into light industry. It is impossible to build communism by offering only machines and ferrous and nonferrous metals. People should be able to eat properly and dress well, to have adequate housing conditions, and other material and cultural advantages. This is not a revision of our general line but a sensible utilization of our material possibilities.

When we were encircled by enemies our industry was weaker than that of capitalist countries, we economized in

everything and, as Lenin said, even in schools. Now the situation is different; we have a powerful industry, and our armed forces have the most modern arms. Why should we deny ourselves things which people can enjoy without jeopardizing the further development of our socialist state?

At the moment, the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. and Soviet Government are working on a general plan for the development of the economy of the Soviet Union for the years 1960 to 1980. Truly breathtaking prospects are opening up in the creation of the material and technical base of communism and in raising the well-being of the people on the foundation of bringing to life the great predictions of our immortal leader and teacher V. I. Lenin.

Raising the culture of the popular masses is one of the greatest achievements of socialism. In 1959 there were 2.2 million students in the USSR. The number of workers engaged in intellectual labor now exceeds 20 million. The number of persons with secondary and higher educational training has grown considerably among people engaged in physical labor. Before the revolution none of the workers and peasants had secondary training, let alone higher education. Now, according to the latest census, of the citizens of the Soviet Union engaged in physical labor 32 percent have secondary or higher education, (397) percent among workers and 21 percent among kolkhoz workers.

All this shows convincingly that we have already scored very perceptible achievements in gradually eliminating substantial differences between physical and intellectual labor.

The results of the very great cultural revolution which has taken place in our country have found vivid reflection in the achievements of Soviet science. The whole world admires these achievements—three Soviet artificial earth satellites, an artificial sun satellite, our luniks and spaceships. In all this can be seen successes and advantages of the socialist system, the socialist genius of the people building communism.

The first stage of all-out construction of communism encompassed by the seven-year plan is at the same time the decisive stage in the completion of the basic economic task of the USSR. Whereas in 1950 the Soviet Union produced less than 30 percent of the industrial output of the United

States, it now produces roughly 60 percent. As shown by calculations of economists, by 1965 the USSR will outstrip the United States in volume of production, and will outstrip the United States in per capita production by approximately 1970. Alongside the Soviet people, the peoples of other socialist countries are also selflessly working to solve the basic economic task of socialism.

The time is approaching when, in its share in world production, socialism will take first place. Capitalism will have been dealt a defeat in the decisive sphere of human activity—the sphere of material production.

Already as a result of fulfillment and overfulfillment of the seven-year plan, and of the high rate of development of the economies of the people's democracies, the countries of the world socialist system will be producing more than half of the world's entire industrial production.

The victory of the USSR in economic competition with the United States, the victory of the whole socialist system over the capitalist system, will be the biggest turning point in history, will exert a still more powerful, revolutionizing influence on the workers' movement all over the world. Then, even to the greatest skeptics, it will become clear that it is only socialism that provides everything necessary for the happy life of man, and they will make their choice in favor of socialism.

To win time in the economic contest with capitalism is now the main thing. The quicker we increase economic construction, the stronger we are economically and, politically, the greater will be the influence of the socialist camp on historical development, on the destiny of the world.

In the statement of the conference the need is emphasized for steady improvement of political and economic work, for constant perfection of the methods of leadership of the national economy, for scientifically backed socialist management. Our practice also confirms that a correct solution of these problems is quite important. We devote special attention to the problems of leadership being solved with regard to objective conditions, with neither a quickening nor a slowing of the rate of development being allowed.

In our country wide measures are being taken to place natural resources in the service of the construction of communism. Some 41 million hectares of virgin and waste lands have been

reclaimed—an area in which several West European states could be placed.

The cascade of gigantic hydroelectric power stations has created an almost fully regulated flow of the great Russian river Volga. The chain of still bigger hydroelectric power stations, notably the Bratsk GES, of over 4 million kilowatts capacity, forms the Angara cascade. Still more majestic stations of up to 5 million kilowatt capacity will place the mighty Siberian Yenisey at the service of communist construction.

In the center of the European USSR, excavation of one of the world's richest iron ore basins, the Kursk Magnetic Anomaly, has begun. Oil rigs are striding ever further to the east. In pre-revolutionary Russia three-fourths of the oil was produced in the Baku area. Under Soviet rule the output of oil in Baku has more than doubled. Nevertheless in 1959 the share of Baku oil related to the whole output of oil in the USSR comprised less than 15 percent.

The inexhaustible mineral wealth of Siberia, supplying our country with millions of tons of ferrous, nonferrous and rare metals, various mineral raw materials and industrial diamonds, is being discovered; millions of hectares of former drought land are being irrigated, and problems of diverting some larger northern rivers are being studied.

These are only individual examples of what fruitful results are obtained when scientifically based methods of management make it possible to make full use of the creative possibilities of socialism.

One of the most important integral parts in the work of the CPSU in the leadership of communist construction is working out theoretical problems raised by life. The practice of communist construction raises many such questions, which have no ready answers. We advance along unexplored paths in building communism. Mankind still does not possess the complete theoretical background and the experience of organizing all aspects of society's life under communism.

Of course, Marxists are familiar with general laws and principles defining the way of life under communism, but at present knowledge alone of the general laws is insufficient.

Communism has gone over from theory to direct practice. The party correctly solves new tasks of communist construction because it regards Marx-

ism-Leninism not as frozen theory but as a creative teaching which is developing without interruption.

In solving the practical tasks of communist construction, our party is constantly engaged in the further development of Marxist-Leninist theory. The great Lenin teaches that revolutionary Marxist theory is inseparable from revolutionary practice, that theory and practice cooperate and supplement one another, and that theory illuminates the path of practice.

Allow me to mention a number of theoretical problems dealt with by our party in recent years. These are the questions of the two stages of communism, of the transition from its first state to the second, higher stage. They are also the questions of the development of the production forces and production relations during the transition from socialism to communism, of the development of the socialist state system into communist self-government, of communist education of the workers, etc. I would like to dwell on some of these questions.

With the advance toward communism the direction of socialist economy grows more complicated. The relationship between the branches of this economy and the economic areas of the country are assuming an increasingly lighter character. In this connection our party devotes much attention to the working out of problems of the management of national economy and of the improvement of planning. In 1957 reorganization of the management of industry and building was carried out, branch ministries were liquidated, and sovnarkhozes were set up in economic administrative areas. The essence of this measure was to be found in the transfer of the actual direction of economic development to local areas, with the retention of centralized planning. Consequently the principle of democratic centralism was further developed; this conforms to the Leninist tenet which holds that with the advance to communism and the rise in cultural standards of the people the management of production will be organized on a democratic basis to an increasing extent.

Further our party revealed the ways of the development of the kolkhos and cooperative ownership on a national level, fusing them into one single communist ownership. The CPSU has worked out and has put into life a whole system of economic, political, and organizational measures aimed at

the strengthening and all-round development of the kolkhos system and kolkhos and cooperative ownership, that is, the reorganization of the MTS the sale of machines to kolkhoses, the changes in the system of procurement of farm produce and of price policy, the help with cadres for the countryside, etc.

Our party devotes much attention to the correct application of the socialist principle of distribution and to the transition in the future to the communist principle of distribution. It has shown the economic failure and the harmfulness of all manifestations of leveling and weakening of the principle of material incentive. As is well known, in the past we had cases of deviation from the principle of material incentive, particularly in agriculture, which caused serious damage to agricultural production and to the kolkhos system. Contempt for the material requirements of the working people and the concentration of emphasis on enthusiasm and awareness, on social and moral forms of incentive and reward, hampered development of production and the raising of the living standards of the working people.

This had negative internal and even international consequences, for it lowered the prestige of the kolkhos system and gave food to the enemies of communism. We eliminated the shortcomings that were allowed to develop, and are bringing about consistent adherence to the principle "from everyone according to his abilities, to everyone according to his work." This principle is a general obligation to work. Its implementation is of enormous importance for raising labor productivity, increasing workers' skill, and for raising people with the communist attitude that work is the most vital necessity. At the same time, our party is concerned with combining both material and moral stimuli for work. As we progress toward communism the moral factor will constantly rise. It is of great importance already.

The emergence and development of communist labor teams, shops, and enterprises is an outstanding phenomenon of Soviet reality. A transition to the communist principle "distribution according to need" will be implemented only when productive forces and labor productivity will have attained a level insuring the creation of an abundance of material goods, and when work will have become most vital to members of the society.

Now the main portion of national funds earmarked for consumption is distributed according to the amount of work. At the same time, a considerable portion of the needs of working people is satisfied free of charge. Allocations for social and cultural undertakings, for popular education and medical services, which are enjoyed free by all the citizens, now amount to almost 25 billion rubles annually. Increasing public funds for personal consumption is regarded by us as a communist way of raising the living standards of working people.

The party pays much attention to the critical questions concerning the socialist state. In our country, where exploiting classes ceased to exist a long time ago, a gradual dying off of the organs of state administration is taking place first of all among those who exercise the functions of compulsion. Our party is holding to a strict course in the further development of democracy, in the handing over of individual functions of state organs to public organizations, in the development of public foundations in every sphere of political and cultural life, in the attraction of the broadest masses of working people in the administration of economy, in the safeguarding of public order, in the struggle against violators of the law, and so forth. This course not only does not weaken but, on the contrary, strengthens socialist society and corresponds to the prospects of the transformation of the socialist state into a communist public self-government.

These and other questions concerning the theory and practice of building communism will be reflected in the new program of the C.P.S.U. This program is being worked out at present. It will be discussed by the party and will be adopted at the forthcoming 22d congress of the party.

The statement expresses the common concern of Marxist-Leninist parties for successful progress in every socialist country so that the tasks of socialist building may be solved correctly, in the interests of each country and the socialist camp as a whole.

In this connection, the great significance of the collective experience of the socialist countries, accumulated on the basis of socialist building in different countries, has been noted. Our party attentively studies the experience of the fraternal parties of socialist countries, which add much that is of value to the Marxist-Leninist theory

of building the new society. Now collective experience in the building of socialism has been accumulated. This experience is a valuable property of the whole international communist movement. The study and correct use by all the fraternal parties of collective experience are a most important condition for the development of each socialist country.

In the part of the earth occupied by the world socialist system, the prototype of a new society for all mankind is being created. This places a particular responsibility on the communist parties of all the socialist countries. Given correct political and economic leadership taking into account both the general laws of the building of socialism, the specific conditions of individual countries, and the special features and requirements of each stage of development, we can make even more active use of the advantages of socialism and we can attain fresh successes.

The countries of the world socialist system are coming closer and closer together, strengthening their cooperation in all spheres of activity. This is a natural process. There are not and cannot be any insoluble contradictions between the socialist countries. The more highly developed and economically powerful countries give unselfish, brotherly help to the economically undeveloped. About 500 industrial enterprises and installations have been built in the fraternal socialist countries with the help of the Soviet Union; loans and credits advanced by us to these countries total 7.8 billion new rubles.

At the same time, we consider it our duty to point out that the fraternal countries of socialism, in their turn, cooperate with the Soviet Union in the development of our economy. The world socialist system at the present time is an association (sovkupnost) of the national economies of sovereign, independent countries.

The growing strength of the links between the national economies of the socialist countries is a natural law of the development of the world socialist system. It can be said with justification that it is the line of strengthening the world socialist economic system which the further development of the socialist countries will follow, as shown by the statement that the Marxist-Leninist parties which are at the helm of leadership in these countries are unanimous in their desire to actively further this process.

They are jointly working for a proper solution of problems of specialization and cooperation of production, international division of labor. Thus they contribute to a fuller utilization of the advantages offered by socialism.

Coordination of national economic plans has become the basic form of combining the productive efforts of socialist countries at the present stage. It is in the interest of all countries to perfect this work, particularly in connection with the task of working out the long-term plan for the expansion of the national economies of socialist countries. The consolidation of the common economic base of the world socialist system, the creation of a material base for a more or less simultaneous transition of the peoples of the socialist system to communism will be achieved more rapidly to the degree that the internal resources of each country are fully mobilized within this system, to the degree that the advantages of the socialist international division of labor are used more adequately. It is on this basis that the balancing of the levels of economic expansion is taking place.

By solving the task of gradually overcoming the differences which have arisen in the course of history in the levels of economic development, we are showing to the peoples of the whole world the communist way toward liquidation of economic and cultural backwardness to which they have been doomed by imperialism.

The effectiveness of this was first demonstrated by the example of certain central Asian and Caucasian peoples, backward in the past, who when greatly assisted by the more advanced socialist nations, notably by the Russian nation, quickly overcame their backwardness and have now taken their place in the ranks of the industrially developed regions of the country. This process is now taking place within the whole socialist system.

The common duty is to continue in every way to strengthen the solidarity, unity, collaboration, and mutual aid of socialist countries. The statement of the conference says communist and workers parties are tirelessly rearing workers in the spirit of socialist internationalism, in the intolerance of all manifestations of nationalism and chauvinism, in the solidarity and unity of communist and workers parties. In their fidelity to the Marxist-Leninist teaching the peoples of the socialist countries have the main source of the

strength and invincibility of each socialist country and of the socialist camp as a whole.

The communist and workers parties have defined the correct principles, those in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism and of interrelationship of socialist countries and nations. Of course, in so new and major a matter individual shortcomings and some rough edges are unavoidable. The socialist commonwealth, however, is characterized not by these shortcomings of a private nature, but by the essentially internationalist nature of socialism, the fraternal parties and countries, and the world-historic successes achieved because of it.

Regarding the shortcomings, we must remove them, being guided by the principles of Marxism-Leninism, international solidarity, and fraternal friendship, keeping as the main aim the solidarity of the socialist camp. The Soviet Union has always secretly fulfilled and is fulfilling its international duty, placing the unity of countries of the socialist camp, of the international communist movement, above all else. Our communist party will continue to adhere to this, its immutable policy.

The further solidarity of socialist countries on principles of Marxism-Leninism will create still greater possibilities for solving the most important problems of the present time in a new manner, in the interests of peace, democracy, and socialism.

The prevention of a new war is the question of all questions:

Comrades, questions of war and peace were at the center of attention at the conference. The participants were fully aware that the problem of preventing a global, thermonuclear war is the most burning and vital problem for mankind. V. I. Lenin pointed out that since World War I the question of war and peace has become the cardinal question in the entire policy of all countries on earth, a question of life and death for tens of millions of people. These words of Lenin resound with increased force in our days, when an application of the new means of mass destruction threatens unprecedented devastation and the death of hundreds of millions of people.

There is now no more urgent task than the prevention of such a catastrophe. The conference has discovered and outlined ways of using even more effectively the new opportunities of

preventing a world war which emerged as a result of the formation of the socialist camp, the growth of its might, and the new balance of power. The peoples believe that communists will use the entire might of the socialist system and the increased strength of the international working class to deliver mankind from the horrors of war. Marx, Engels, and Lenin considered that the historic mission of the working class and its communist vanguard consisted not only in abolishing the oppression of exploitation, poverty, and lack of rights, but in ridding mankind of bloody wars.

V. I. Lenin nurtured our party in a spirit of implacable struggle against imperialism, for stable peace and friendship among all peoples. These principles have always been and continue to be the essence of our foreign policy. Our party remembers Lenin's words to the effect that while dying and disintegrating, capitalism is still capable of causing great calamities to mankind. The party always maintains the greatest vigilance regarding the danger emanating from imperialism. It nurtures the Soviet people in this spirit and does everything necessary to make it impossible for the enemy ever to catch us unawares.

We warn of a threat of war in order to raise the vigilance and energy of the peoples and to mobilize them for the struggle to prevent world war. The attitude of the C.P.S.U. toward problems of war and peace are generally known. It has been more than once expounded in decisions of congresses and in other documents of our party.

Wars have followed the division of the society into classes, i.e., the basis for the beginning of all wars will be finally eliminated only when the division of the society into hostile antagonistic classes is abolished. The victory of the working class throughout the world and the victory of socialism will bring about the removal of all social and national causes of the outbreak of wars, and mankind will be able to rid itself forever of that dreadful plight.

In modern conditions the following categories of wars should be distinguished: World wars, local wars, liberation wars, and popular uprisings. This is necessary to work out the correct tactics with regard to these wars.

Let us begin with the question of world wars. Communists are the most determined opponents of world wars,

just as they are generally opponents of wars among states. These wars are needed only by imperialists to seize the territories of others, and to enslave and plunder other peoples. Before the formation of the world socialist camp the working class had no opportunity to make a determining impact on the solution of the question of whether there should or should not be world wars. In these conditions the best representatives of the working class raised the slogan of turning imperialist wars into civil wars, or to exploit the situation that had arisen to seize power.

This kind of situation arose during the World War I and was classically used by the Bolshevik Party and Lenin. In our times different conditions have developed. The world socialist camp is making an ever-growing impact through its economic might and its armed forces, on the solution of problems of war and peace.

Of course, there also are among the imperialist countries acute contradictions and antagonisms, as well as the desire to profit at the expense of others who are weaker, yet imperialists now must keep an eye on the Soviet Union and the whole socialist camp, and are afraid of starting wars among themselves. They are trying to play down their differences; they have set up military blocs in which they have involved many capitalist countries. Although these blocs are being torn by internal struggle, their members—as they themselves say—are united in their hatred of communism and, of course, by the nature and aspirations of imperialism.

In present conditions, the most probable wars are wars among capitalist and imperialist countries, and this too should not be ruled out.

Wars are chiefly prepared by imperialists against socialist countries and in the first place against the Soviet Union as the most powerful of the socialist states. Imperialists would wish to undermine our might and thus re-establish the former domination of monopolistic capital. The task is to create impassable obstacles against the unleashing of wars by imperialists. We possess increasing possibilities for placing obstacles in the path of the warmongers. Consequently, we can forestall the outbreak of a world war.

Of course, as yet we are unable to completely exclude the possibility of wars, for the imperialist states exist. However, the unleashing of wars has become a much more complicated busi-

ness for the imperialists than it was before the emergence of the mighty socialist camp. Imperialists can unleash a war, but they must think hard about the consequences.

I already said that even if the crazy Hitler had realized what a devastating rout was in store for his bloody gamble and had seen that he would have to commit suicide, he would have thought twice before starting a war against the Soviet Union. Then there were but two socialist countries, the Soviet Union and the Mongolian People's Republic, and yet we routed the aggressors, having also exploited the contradictions between imperialist states.

The picture now is quite different: the socialist countries, which represent a mighty force, now oppose the imperialist camp. It would be a mistake to minimize the strength of the socialist camp and its influence on the course of world events and thus on the solution of the question of whether wars will take place. In conditions where a mighty socialist camp exists, possessing powerful armed forces, the peoples, by mobilization of all their forces for active struggle against the warmongering imperialists, can indisputably prevent war and thus insure peaceful coexistence.

A word or two about local wars. A lot is being said nowadays in the imperialist camp about local wars, and they are even making small-caliber atomic weapons for use in such wars; a special theory of local wars has been concocted. Is this fortuitous? Of course not. Certain imperialist circles, fearing that world war might end in the complete collapse of capitalism, are putting their money on unleashing local wars.

There have been local wars and they may occur again in the future, but opportunities for imperialists to unleash these wars too are becoming fewer and fewer. A small imperialist war, regardless of which imperialist begins it, may grow into a world thermonuclear rocket war. We must therefore combat both world wars and local wars.

As an example of a local war unleashed by the imperialists, we may take the Anglo-French-Israeli aggression against Egypt. They wanted to strangle Egypt and thus intimidate the Arab countries struggling for independence, and also to frighten the other peoples of Asia and Africa. British statesmen, including Eden, spoke

quite openly of their desire to deal summarily with Egypt when we were in London. We told them frankly: If you start a war, you will lose it; we will not remain neutral. When that war started, the United Nations formally condemned it, but this did not worry the aggressors and they went on with their dirty deed and even thought they had almost achieved their ends. The Soviet Union and the whole socialist camp came to the defense of Egypt. The Soviet Government's stark warning to Eden and Guy Mollet stopped the war. The local war, the venture in Egypt, failed miserably.

This was in 1956, when the balance of power between the countries of socialism and the countries of imperialism was not the same as it is today. We were not as mighty then as we are today. In addition, the rulers of Britain, France, and Israel reckoned on being able to utilize the difficulties which had arisen in Hungary and Poland. Spokesmen of imperialist states were whispering into our ears: You have your difficulties in Hungary, we have ours in Egypt; therefore do not interfere in our affairs. Yet we gave a due reply to these whispers. We did not shut our eyes to their baneful deeds. We interfered and stopped their aggression. Here is an example of how a local war started by the imperialist was stopped as a result of the interference by the Soviet Union and the entire socialist camp.

I have already said that local wars are also not excluded in the future. Therefore, our task is to be always on guard, mobilizing both the forces of the socialist camp and the peoples of the world, all the peace-loving forces, for prevention of aggressive wars. If the peoples of all countries are united and mobilized, if they wage a tireless struggle, uniting their efforts both inside each country and on a world scale, wars can be averted.

Now a word about national liberation wars. The armed struggle by the Vietnamese people or the war of the Algerian people, which is already in its seventh year, serve as the latest examples of such wars. These wars began as an uprising by the colonial peoples against their oppressors and changed into guerrilla warfare. Liberation wars will continue to exist as long as imperialism exists. These are revolutionary wars. Such wars are not only admissible but inevitable, since the colonialists do not grant independence

voluntarily. Therefore, the peoples can attain their freedom and independence only by struggle, including armed struggle.

How is it that the U.S. imperialists, while desirous of helping the French colonialists in every way, decided against direct intervention in the war in Vietnam? They did not intervene because they knew that if they did help France with armed forces, Vietnam would get relevant aid from China, the Soviet Union, and other socialist countries, which could lead to a world war. The outcome of the war is known. North Vietnam was victorious.

At present, a similar war is taking place in Algeria. What kind of war is it? It is the uprising of the Arab people in Algeria against French colonizers. It is being conducted in the form of a partisan war. The imperialists in the United States and Britain render assistance to their French allies with arms. Moreover, they have allowed France, a participant in NATO, to transfer its troops from Europe for the struggle against the Algerian people.

The Algerian people, too, receive assistance from neighboring and other countries that sympathize with their peace-loving aspirations. But it is a liberation war of a people for its independence, it is a sacred war. We recognize such wars, we help and will help the peoples striving for their independence.

Or let us take Cuba's example. A war took place there too. But it also started as an uprising against the internal tyrannical regime supported by U.S. imperialism. Batista was a protégé of the United States. The latter rendered active assistance to him. However, the United States did not interfere in that war directly with its armed forces. The Cuban people, under the leadership of Fidel Castro, have won.

Can such wars flare up in the future? They can. Can there be such uprisings? There can. But these are wars which are national uprisings. In other words, can conditions be created where a people will lose their patience and rise in arms? They can. What is the attitude of the Marxists toward such uprisings? A most positive one. These uprisings must not be identified with wars among states, with local wars, since in these uprisings the people are fighting for implementation of their right for self-determination, for independent social and national development. These are uprisings against

rotten reactionary regimes, against the colonizers. The communists fully support such just wars and march in the front rank with the peoples waging liberation struggles.

Comrades, mankind has come close to the historic point where it can solve all problems which were beyond the strength of former generations. This also concerns the most vital issue, the prevention of a world war. The working class, which already leads a large part of the world—and the time will come when it will lead the whole world—cannot allow the forces doomed to ruin to drag hundreds of millions if people to the grave with them.

A world war in present conditions would be a rocket and nuclear war, the most destructive war in history. Among hydrogen bombs already tested are those in which the power of one bomb exceeds by several times the force of all explosives used during the World War II—and even during all of mankind's existence. According to scientific calculations, the explosion of a single hydrogen bomb in an industrial area can destroy up to 1.5 million people, and cause death from radiation to another 400,000.

Even a medium-sized hydrogen bomb is sufficient to wipe a large town off the face of the earth. British scientists have concluded that four megaton bombs, one each for London, Birmingham, Lancashire, and Yorkshire would destroy at least 20 million people. According to data submitted to the Senate by American experts, losses after 24 hours of nuclear war are expected to total 50 to 75 million people.

Pauling, a well-known American scientist, states: The areas likely to suffer strong nuclear blows are inhabited by about 1 billion people. In 60 days from the moment of atomic attack, 500 to 750 million people could perish. Nuclear war would also bring innumerable hardships to the peoples of those countries not directly subjected to bombing; in particular, many millions would perish as a result of the lethal consequences of radiation.

We know that if the imperialist madmen unleash a world war, capitalism would be wiped out and annihilated by the peoples. But we are resolutely opposed to war, first of all because we are concerned for the destiny of mankind, its present and its future. We know that in the event of war it is the working people and their

vanguard, the working class, that would suffer most. We remember how Vladimir Ilich Lenin formulated the question of the destiny of the working class. As early as in the first few years after the revolution, when the world's first state of workers and peasants was in a state of siege, Ilich taught that if we save the working man, the main producing force of mankind, we will save everything, but we will perish if we fail to save him.

Now there is more than one worker-peasant state in the world, there is an entire system of socialist states. Our duty to history is to insure peace and peaceful development of this great offspring of the international working class and to protect the peoples of all countries from another destructive war. The victory of socialism throughout the world, which is inevitable because of the laws of historic development, is now near. For this victory, wars among states are not necessary.

A sober appraisal of the inevitable consequences of nuclear war is the indispensable condition for a persistent pursuance of a policy of preventing war and of mobilizing the masses for the solution of this task.

After all, the very appreciation of the threat of devastating war strengthens the will of the masses to struggle against war. Therefore it is essential to warn the masses of the most dangerous consequences of a new world war and, thereby, to rouse the sacred wrath of the peoples against those who are preparing this crime.

The possibility of preventing war is not something like a gift. Peace cannot be begged for; it can only be assured by active purposeful struggle. That is why we have waged and will wage such a struggle.

The entire foreign policy of the Soviet Union is directed toward the strengthening of peace. The growing might of our state has been used by us and will in the future be used not to threaten anyone, not to fan the fear of war, but to steadfastly pursue a policy of struggle against the danger of war, for the prevention of a world war. We have been and are prompted by the desire to maintain and strengthen friendly relations with all peoples in the interests of peace, on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence.

Comrades, life itself bears out the correctness of the Leninist policy of peaceful coexistence of states with diverse social systems, consistently pur-

sued by the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries. Our party considers the policy of peaceful coexistence, which has been handed down to us by Lenin, to be the general line of our foreign policy. Peaceful coexistence is the high road of international relations between socialist and capitalist countries. The consistent implementation of the policy of peaceful coexistence strengthens the position of the world socialist system, promotes the growth of its economic might, its international prestige and influence among the people's masses, and creates for it favorable foreign-political possibilities in peaceful competition with capitalism.

Because the countries of the socialist camp are putting into effect a correct policy, a policy of active struggle against the imperialist warmongers, the prestige of the Soviet Union and of all socialist countries has risen to an unprecedented height. It is, after all, a fact that countries of socialism now have very good international positions. The prestige of fraternal parties in the capitalist states, operating in particularly difficult conditions, is also growing from day to day. The world today acknowledges that the active, effective, influential foreign policy of the Soviet Union, of all socialist countries, draws to the side of peace and socialism more and more millions of people.

The policy of actively struggling for peace has imparted dynamic force to the foreign policy acts of the socialist countries. In recent years, the initiative in the international arena has been in the hands of the Soviet Union, the socialist countries, while the imperialist states and their governments defend themselves with their backs to the wall their prestige and foreign political stock have never been so low.

Peaceful coexistence helps to develop the forces of progress, the forces struggling for socialism, and in capitalist countries it facilitates the activities of communist parties and other progressive organizations of the working class. It facilitates the struggle the people wage against aggressive military blocs, against foreign military bases. It helps the national liberation movement to gain successes.

Thus, the policy of peaceful coexistence, as regards its social content, is a form of intense economic, political, and ideological struggle of the proletariat against the aggressive forces of imperialism in the interna-

tional arena.

The struggle against imperialism can be successful only if its aggressive acts are resolutely rebuffed. Verbal exhortation will not contain the imperialist adventurers. There is only one way of bringing imperialism to heel, the unflinching consolidation of the economic, political, and military might of the socialist states, an all-out unification and consolidation of the world revolutionary movement and the mobilization of the broad popular masses for the struggle to prevent the danger of war.

The C.P.S.U. and Soviet Government will continue with determination to do everything to enhance the military might of our country, since the imperialists continue the arms race. In rebuffing the aggressive actions of imperialism, our party and government display firmness and presence of mind. We always seek to direct the development of events in a way which insures that, while defending the interests of the socialist camp, we do not provide the imperialist provocateurs with a chance to unleash a new world war.

We set ourselves the task of exposing the aggressive essence of all military-political alignments of the imperialists like NATO, SEATO, and CENTO, of seeking their isolation and ultimate liquidation. We have repeatedly stated that in those circumstances we are willing to terminate the Warsaw Treaty. All peoples in the world gain from the liquidation of military alignments. This would be a most important concrete contribution to the consolidation of peace, improvement of the international atmosphere, and a major success of the policy of peaceful coexistence. In spite of all their efforts the imperialists lately have not succeeded in involving a single new state in their military alignments. It is significant that all new independent states have declared their intention to pursue a policy of nonparticipation in military blocs.

The struggle against the revival of German militarism is of particular importance for the consolidation of peace in Europe, and not only in Europe. The Soviet Union is waging this struggle together with the GDR, Poland, Czechoslovakia, and other socialist countries in various directions. The most important of these is the struggle for a peace treaty.

The program of peaceful German settlement submitted by socialist states and the solution on this basis of the

question of West Berlin have to a great extent assisted in exposing the aggressive circles of the United States, the German Federal Republic, and other NATO participants as opponents of a relaxation of tension.

The international positions of the GDR—the outpost of socialism in Western Europe—have become stronger. The positions of the United States, Great Britain, and France have turned out to be particularly vulnerable in West Berlin. These powers are still trying to cling to the old statutes. They cannot fail to understand that sooner or later an end will come to the occupational regime in this city. It is essential to continue, step by step, to bring the aggressive imperialist circles to their senses, to compel them to take the actual position into account. If they are stubborn, we will adopt decisive measures. We will conclude a peace treaty with the GDR because we are fully determined to insure the conclusion of a peace treaty with Germany at last, to take away from the occupational regime in West Berlin, and, thus, to eradicate this splinter from the heart of Europe.

Comrades, if the problem of all problems of our time is that of averting a new war, the most radical way of solving it is disarmament. The conference of representatives of Marxist-Leninist parties has declared that the implementation of the program of general and complete disarmament, put forward by the Soviet Union, could be of historic significance for the destiny of mankind. Our struggle for disarmament is not a tactical move. We sincerely want disarmament. Here we stand fully on the positions of Marxism-Leninism. At the end of the last century, Engels indicated that disarmament was possible and qualified it as a "guarantee of peace." In our time the slogan of disarmament was first put forward as a practical task by Vladimir Ilich Lenin and the first Soviet proposals on full or partial disarmament—if the capitalists will not agree on full disarmament—were submitted at the Geneva conference.

The struggle for disarmament is the most important factor for averting war. It is an effective struggle against imperialism. In such a struggle the socialist camp has the majority of mankind on its side. The ideals of peace and progress are our vital ideals. After all, the constituent manifesto of the First International, written by Marx, contained an appeal that the simple

laws of morality and justice, which ought to guide private individuals, should become the highest laws in relations between nations.

When we raise the slogan of the struggle for peace without weapons and without war, we naturally take into account that under modern conditions, while two different world social systems exist, there still are in the imperialist camp some forces, and quite considerable ones at that, which not only do support this slogan but fight against it.

The question of the struggle for communism is a class struggle, but in the struggle for peace not only the forces of the working class, peasantry, and petty bourgeoisie can be united, but even the part of the bourgeoisie which sees the real danger of thermonuclear war.

Consequently the slogan of the struggle for peace does not contradict the slogan of the struggle for communism. These two slogans harmonize with each other because in the eyes of the broad masses of people communism acts as a force capable of saving mankind from the horrors of modern destructive rocket-nuclear war, and imperialism is being associated in the minds of the masses with war more and more, as a system which engenders wars. Therefore, the slogan of the struggle for peace appears as a satellite of the slogan of the struggle for communism. As correctly stated in the statement, the movement of peace partisans is the broadest movement of modern times, embracing people of different political and religious views, belonging to different classes of society, but united by the noble endeavor to prevent new wars and to insure lasting peace.

Among the people who fight for peace, there are representatives of various social strata, various political opinions, and religious outlooks. The struggle for disarmament is an active struggle against imperialism, for restricting its military potentialities. Peoples must do everything to achieve the prohibition and destruction of atomic weapons and all other mass destruction weapons. Peace will then be insured and there will open before peoples the most favorable prospects for organizing their lives in accordance with their aspirations and interests.

The primary condition of progress in disarmament is the mobilization of the broadest masses of people and their increasing pressure on imperialist

governments. In the capitalist camp, policy regarding socialist countries follows two trends: a militant-aggressive trend, and a moderate-sober trend.

Vladimir Ilich Lenin pointed out the necessity for establishing contacts with those circles of the bourgeoisie which gravitate toward pacifism, even if it should be of the poorest quality. He said that in the struggle for the preservation of peace we must also use prudent representatives of the bourgeoisie.

The correctness of these words is confirmed by the events of our times, too. Among the ruling classes of the imperialist camp a fear for the future of capitalism prevails.

The most reactionary circles are showing increasing nervousness and a tendency toward adventurism and aggression, which they hope will help improve the shaken state of their affairs. At the same time, among the ruling circles in those countries there are also forces which understand the danger of a new war to capitalism itself. Hence there are two tendencies: one as aiming at war, and the second at accepting the idea of peaceful coexistence in some form.

The socialist states in their policy take these two tendencies into consideration. They strive for negotiations and agreements with the capitalist countries on the basis of constructive proposals. They endeavor to develop personal contacts among spokesmen of socialist and capitalist states. It is also essential in the future to make use of every opportunity to expose the supporters of the arms race, to show to the popular masses that the socialist countries are sincerely waging the struggle to insure universal peace.

The awareness is becoming stronger among all peoples that it is the communists who are for the building of relations among states on the basis of peaceful coexistence, that it is they who are the most ardent and consistent fighters for peace. We can be proud of the fact that the peoples' notion of peace and communism are all the more being identified as a single unit.

The communists feel that if all progressive and peace-loving forces of our times, countries belonging to the socialist system, the international working class, the national liberation movement, young national states and all countries opposing war, all peace partisans, will wage a resolute struggle against the danger of war, they can

tie the hands of warmongers and prevent a new world war catastrophe. It is essential day by day to enlist in the struggle for peace new strata of the population, eliminating a passive attitude which unfortunately is to be found among some social strata in bourgeois states. The struggle against the danger of a new world war must be developed without waiting for the full fall of atomic and hydrogen bombs, the statement stresses.

One of the decisive sources of the moral strength of communism, of its great influence on the masses, is that it comes forth as a standard-bearer in the struggle for peace. It is the banner of peace that enables us to rally the broadest popular masses around us. If we carry high the banner of peace, we shall score even greater successes.

The communists regard it their sacred duty to make full use of all possibilities created for the peoples by the present era to curb the bellicose forces of imperialism, to prevent a new war.

The present international communist and workers movement has attained such might and organization that it poses for itself the practical task of delivering mankind from the calamities of a new war. The statement of the conference says: The communists see their historical mission not only in abolition of exploitation and poverty all over the world and in excluding forever the possibility of any war in the life of human society, but in delivering mankind in the current era from the nightmare of a new world war. The communist parties in all countries will devote all their strength and energy to the realization of this great historic mission.

Liquidation of colonialism and ways for the further development of countries which have liberated themselves:

Comrades, the peoples which achieved national independence have become a new and powerful force in the struggle for peace and social progress. The national liberation movement deals more and more blows against imperialism, helps consolidation of peace, contributes to speeding mankind's development along the path of social progress. Asia, Africa, and Latin America are now the most important centers of revolutionary struggle against imperialism. In the postwar period about 40 countries won national independence. Almost 1.5 billion people have wrenched themselves out of co-

lonial slavery.

The conference has correctly pointed out that the crumbling of the system of colonial slavery under the pressure of the national liberation movement is the second phenomenon of historic importance after the formation of the world system of socialism.

New remarkable pages are opening in the history of mankind. It is easy to imagine what majestic deeds these peoples will perform after they completely evict the imperialists from their countries, when they feel that they are masters of their own fate.

This vastly multiplies the progressive forces of mankind. For example take Asia, this ancient cradle of civilization. What inexhaustible strength lies hidden in the peoples of this continent! And will the Arab people with their heroic traditions, and all the peoples of the Middle East, which have already freed or are freeing themselves from political and economic dependence on imperialism, play any lesser role in the solution of tasks now facing mankind?

A remarkable phenomenon of our time is the awakening of the peoples of Africa. Dozens of states in north and central Africa have already achieved independence. The south of Africa is seething and there is no doubt that the fascist prisons in the Union of South Africa will collapse, that Rhodesia, Uganda, and other parts of Africa will become free.

The forces of the national liberation movement are greatly increasing owing to the fact that one more front of active struggle against American imperialism has been formed in recent years. Latin America has become this front. Until recently that vast continent was identified by one concept: America. This concept greatly expressed its substance: Latin America was bound hand and foot by Yankee imperialism. By their struggle, the Latin American peoples are showing that the American continent is not an appendage of the United States. Latin America is reminiscent of an active volcano: the lava of the liberation struggle has swept away dictatorial regimes in a number of Latin American countries.

The whole world has heeded the thunder of the heroic Cuban Revolution. The Cuban revolution is not only repelling the onslaught of the imperialists; it is going deeper and broader, marking a new, higher stage of the national liberation struggle, with people coming to power, with

the people themselves becoming masters of their own wealth, solidarity with revolutionary Cuba is the duty not only of the people of Latin America; it is also the duty of the socialist countries, of the entire international communist movement, the proletariat of all areas of the world.

The national liberation movement is an anti-imperialist movement. With the collapse of the colonial system, imperialism has become considerably weaker. Vast territories, tremendous masses of people, have already ceased or are ceasing to serve as its reserve, a source of cheap raw material and cannon fodder. Asian, African, and Latin American countries, with the support of the socialist states and all international progressive forces, are more and more often defeating the imperialist powers and coalitions.

We gladly welcomed in Moscow the participants of the conference from the fraternal communist parties of countries of Asia, Africa, Latin America, stalwart fighters for the independence and free development of peoples. Now communist parties are functioning in nearly 50 countries of these continents. This has broadened the sphere of influence of the communist movement, given it a truly worldwide character.

V. I. Lenin, speaking in 1919 at the Second All-Russian Congress of the Communist Organizations of the Peoples of the East, said: If the Russian Bolsheviks succeeded in making a breach in the old imperialism, to take upon themselves the extraordinarily difficult but extraordinarily noble task of creating new revolutionary ways, then you—representatives of the working masses of the East—are faced with still a greater and newer task.

Lenin saw this task in awakening the revolutionary activity, independent action, and organization of the working masses irrespective of the level at which they are in applying communist teaching to the specific conditions in their countries, merging in the common struggle with proletarians of other countries.

When Lenin put forward this task, it had not yet been executed in practice anywhere, and the way it could be executed in concrete form could not be learned from any book. Now the communist parties of the countries struggling for national independence, or those that have already attained it, exist under immeasurably more favorable conditions, for there is the

gigantic experience of the application of the theory of Marxism-Leninism in the conditions of countries and areas which had been doomed by capitalism to backwardness for ages to come. This experience, amassed by the world communist movement is a rich treasure house for all communists. The correct application of this experience, the correct determination of which policy should be pursued, naturally can be done only by the actual party functioning in the given country.

These parties have concentrated their attention on what is most important: how to approach their own peoples correctly, to convince the broadest masses that their best future is indisputably connected with the struggle against imperialism and reactionary internal forces, and also how to strengthen international solidarity between socialist states and the communist advance guard of the world to rollers. The renovation of the world on the principles of freedom, democracy, and socialism in which we are participating is a great historic process in which various revolutionary and democratic movements unite and work in concert under the determining influence of socialist revolutions.

The successes of the national liberation movement are to a great extent conditioned by the victories of socialism and, in their turn, strengthen the international positions of socialism in the struggle against imperialism. The policy of the communist parties and socialist states aimed at strengthening the close union with the peoples struggling for their independence or those who have already achieved it, is based on this truly Leninist understanding of these historical processes.

Bourgeois and revisionist politicians allege that the development of the national liberation movement is independent of the working class struggle for socialism, independent of the socialist states' support, that it is the colonizers who grant freedom to the peoples of former colonial countries. Such inventions are launched to isolate the young independent states from the socialist camp, to prove that on the international stage they should, allegedly, play the part of some kind of third force and not oppose imperialism.

Is it necessary to mention that such reasoning is downright charlatanism? It is a historical fact that before the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution nations were not able to

On one face, it cannot be ignored that the imperialists possess strong economic inducements for influencing the liberated countries. They are still able to entice certain politically independent countries in the net of economic dependence. Now, when the establishment of overt colonial regimes is impossible, the imperialists resort to camouflaged forms of enslaving and looting the liberated countries.

The conference statement contains important clauses concerning basic questions of development of the national liberation struggle, whose tasks the communist parties are striving to carry out. Their position in regard to various classes and social groups are also noted there.

best way to achievement of the ends in view.

It is important to stress that with the immense variety of conditions in the countries whose peoples have risen to independent, historic creative work, various forms of settling problems of social progress cannot fail to arise. The correct application of Marxist-

At present, when imperialist reaction is trying to foment a policy of anticommunism on the young, independent states, a truthful explanation of communist views and aims becomes particularly significant. Communists generally support democratic measures taken by national governments. At the same time, communists explain to the masses that these measures are not socialist ones.

The assistance of the USSR and other socialist states to countries which have won their independence purges a single goal: To contribute to the strengthening of the position of those countries in the struggle against imperialism, to the development of their national economies, and to the improvement of the living conditions of their peoples. Engels, noting the im-

International duty of the victorious working class is to help peoples of economically underdeveloped countries to completely break the fetters of colonial enslavement and to give them all-round support in their struggle against imperialism and for self-determination and independent development.

The Soviet Union has been an old friend of colonial peoples and has always stood guard over their interests and aspirations to independence. We will continue to strengthen and develop economic and cultural cooperation with countries which have entered the party of independent existence.

The main conclusion of the above declaration, the necessity of a speedy and final liquidation of colonialism in all its forms and manifestations, was on the whole reflected in the decision passed by the United Nations. This was a great victory for the progressive forces and for all socialist states who firmly and consistently defend the cause of the freedom and independent national development of peoples.

stained from voting. This is highly characteristic, as it shows to the whole world who stands for the liquidation of the colonial system and what the so-called free countries uphold.

Colonialism, which more than anything else has led to bloodshed, still is fraught with the danger of war. Now and again it manifests itself in the outbreaks of vicious madness, which is eloquently proved by the bloody events in Algeria, the Congo, and Laos. It still grips in its tenacious claws tens of millions of people. Not all the peoples of the world have won their freedom, and who won state independence enjoy its benefits, since in the economies of these countries foreign monopolies continue their domination.

Some ideological questions of the communist movement:

The path of the communist movement has been difficult and thorny. No other party has had to go through so many trials and so many sacrifices. Numerous reactionaries have been trying to destroy communism, yet communism has emerged from all these trials ever stronger and has become

a mighty force today. You have all seen beautiful giant trees deeply rooted in the soil. Such trees fear no storms or hurricanes. A storm may pass and break brittle trees, while the giant tree remains standing unshakable. Its crown becomes even thicker and rises higher toward the sun. The same occurs in the communist movement. Imperialist reaction has sent one storm after another upon it, but the communist movement remains steadfast; it is growing and is becoming stronger.

Forty-one years ago, here in Moscow, the First Congress of the Comintern took place. Communist parties and left-wing socialist organizations from 30 countries were represented at the congress. If one were to discount the communist parties of the republics which now form a part of the USSR, only five communist parties existed in all of Europe at that time. In Asia, Africa, Australia, and Oceania there were no communist parties. On the American continent there was only the communist party of Argentina. Now there are communist and workers parties in 87 countries. They unite in their ranks more than 36 million people. The ideas of communism have captured the minds of millions of people in every corner of the world. This is good, very good.

Comrades, we are witnesses to the birth of a succession of new communist parties. After the Moscow conference in 1937 12 parties have been formed and have established international ties.

If Marx, Engels, and Lenin could have been present at the November conference of the representatives of communist and workers parties, how happy they would have been to see such a mighty army of communists from the whole world! The growth of the ranks of communist parties reflects the striving of the popular masses toward communism. It is one of the remarkable phenomena of today.

The communist system for which Marxists-Leninists struggled has been prepared by the entire process of social development, and the transition to it is a ripe task. Marxists-Leninists cannot fail to be concerned with, and are in fact concerned with, interpreting the ways of transition to the new society, and here not a few complex problems arise. Fraternal parties have highly rated the contribution made at the 20th C.P.S.U. Congress to the elaboration of urgent problems. The conference of communist and workers parties in 1957 and the November forum of the world communist move-

ment in 1960 devoted serious attention to the elaboration of these problems and have advanced the theory and practice of the communist movement. Recognition of the necessity of a revolutionary transformation of capitalist society into a socialist society is an axiom for us Soviet communists, sons of the October Revolution. The path to socialism lies through proletarian revolution and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

As for the forms of transition to socialism, they will, as was pointed out by the 20th C.P.S.U. Congress, become increasingly diverse, and it is not essential that the transition to socialism everywhere and in all cases be connected with armed uprisings and civil war.

Marxism-Leninism proceeds from the view that the forms of transition to socialism can be of a peaceful or non-peaceful nature. Revolution by peaceful means is in keeping with the interests of the working class and the masses. But if the ruling classes counter revolution with force and are unwilling to bow to the will of the people, the proletariat must break their resistance and start a resolute civil war.

We are convinced that as the might of the world socialist system increases and the level of organization of the working class in capitalist countries improves, increasingly favorable conditions for socialist revolutions will occur.

Transition to socialism in countries with developed parliamentary traditions can also be carried out by making use of parliament and in other countries of institutions in keeping with their national traditions. Here it is not a case of making use of bourgeois parliaments but of the parliamentary form, in order to make it serve the people and give it new content.

Thus, it is not a case of some kind of electoral combinations, of battle merely for the ballot box—that is what the reformists do. Such are alien to communists. For us the unification and rallying of the revolutionary forces of the working class and all working people and the deployment of mass revolutionary actions are an essential condition to gain a firm majority in parliament.

To gain a majority in parliament, to make of it a body of popular power with the existence of a powerful revolutionary movement in the country, means the overthrow of the mili-

tary bureaucratic machine of the bourgeois and creation of a new proletarian state system in parliamentary form. It is obvious that in countries where capitalism is still strong, where it has a huge military and policy apparatus, the transition to socialism will unavoidably take place in conditions of an acute class struggle. The decisive condition for all forms of transition to socialism is political leadership of the working class headed by the communist vanguard.

These conclusions reached by the 20th C.P.S.U. Congress are based on the theory of Marxism-Leninism, on the practice of fraternal communist parties, on the experience of the international communist movement, and correctly take into consideration the change in international conditions. They direct communist parties toward cohesion of the working class and the majority of people to master all forms of struggle—peaceful and nonpeaceful, parliamentary and nonparliamentary. Lenin taught the communists to be ready, depending on the situation, to make use of one form or another of struggle and to educate the working masses in the spirit of readiness for resolute revolutionary actions.

Of course, to define what forms and methods of struggle will be selected by the working class in one country or another under concrete historical circumstances is the task of the proletariat itself in each country, and of its communist vanguard.

It must be emphasized here that under present conditions the following tenet in the statement of the conference is of special significance: The communist parties, being guided by Marxist-Leninist teaching, have always opposed the export of revolution; at the same time they resolutely struggle against the imperialist export of counter revolution; they regard it as their international duty to call upon people in all countries to rally and mobilize all their internal forces, to work actively, and, basing themselves on the might of the world socialist system, prevent or resolutely rebuff interference by the imperialists in the people's affairs in any country which has risen to revolt.

It is a very complicated thing, to lead the masses to socialist revolution. It is known from our party's experience that the Bolsheviks, struggling for power, devoted their principal attention to working among the masses, to establishment and consolidation of

the union of the working class with the peasantry, to training the political army of the socialist revolution. Leninists worked wherever there were masses—among the workers, peasants, women, young people, in the army. Each party can see better which slogan at any moment corresponds best with the task of winning the masses, leading them forward, stimulating cohesion of the political army of the socialist revolution.

The conference emphasized the important part played by work among young people. Bourgeois propaganda is spreading inventions about modern youth, calling it the lost generation and presenting it as aloof from politics. However, recent revolutionary actions in a number of countries show that youth is a great revolutionary force. No other political party can attract young people in the same way as the communists, the most revolutionary party. And young people like bold revolutionary actions.

The working class is the leading revolutionary force of our time. In the world army of labor, the working class of developed capitalist countries occupies an important part. These countries number 160 million workers and employees, which is equal to no less than three-fifths of the total of workers and employees in the entire non-socialist world.

The working class of the developed capitalist countries presents an immense revolutionary force, not only because of its numerical strength, but primarily because it is organized. It has mass trade unions and its own mass parties. We understand full well that communists in western Europe and the United States encounter great and specific difficulties. They have to deal with an experienced bourgeoisie having at its disposal immense material resources and a powerful military, police, and ideological machine. But we have profound confidence in the working class of the west European countries, the heir of the revolutionary traditions of the Paris Commune and of the British Chartists, the leader and organizer of anti-fascist resistance. The working class, which in many countries has experienced mass communist parties possessing tested Marxist-Leninist cadres, will make its contribution to the cause of the revolutionary transformation of society.

Comrades, the greater the successes of the socialist system, the greater the growth of the international army

of communists, the more the bourgeois raises. It adopts fascist methods of administration and regimes of tyranny. It mobilizes all its means of propaganda in an attempt to whitewash the capitalist order and to defame socialism and our communist ideas.

Bougeois propaganda is assuming an increasingly cunning nature. Its main weapon in the struggle against the socialist camp and the communist parties is anticommunism. We must resolutely unmask this antisocialist and purely false ideology. The cause of socialism cannot progress successfully without a determined struggle against opportunism in the workers and communist movement, without a struggle against revisionism, dogmatism, and sectarianism.

You all know well that three years ago the communist movement was subjected to wild attacks by revisionists and that in some countries it concerned the life and death of the revolutionary parties of the working class. In the Communist Party of such a country as the United States the revisionist group of Gates was active. In the Danish Communist Party undermining activity was conducted by the Larsen group. The revisionists were a serious danger to some other fraternal parties as well.

It can be noted with a feeling of profound satisfaction that revisionist pollution was unmasked and thrown out of the party. From the struggle with the revisionists the communist parties emerged stronger and more mature, wiser in experience. The communist parties unanimously condemned the Yugoslav variety of contemporary revisionism. The struggle against revisionism, against all sorts of deviations from Leninism, retains its urgency. It is a struggle to strengthen the socialist camp and consistently implement the principles of Marxism-Leninism.

Vladimir Ilich Lenin, with his usual perspicacity, stated that the struggle with the evil of nationalism, with the most deep-rooted national petty bourgeois prejudices, moves more and more urgently into the foreground as a task of turning the dictatorship of the proletariat from a national one—one existing in a single country and incapable of determining world policy—into an international one—a dictatorship of the proletariat in at least several leading countries and capable of having a decisive influence on all world policy.

The struggle with revisionism in all its forms still remains today an important task of the communist parties. As long as the bourgeois order exists, there will be a nutritive medium for the ideology of revisionism too. Therefore, we must always keep our powder dry and wage implacable war on revisionism which tries to wipe out the revolutionary essence of Marxism-Leninism, whitewash modern capitalism, undermine the solidarity of the communist movement, and encourage communist parties to go their separate national ways (*razvesti kommunisticheskiye partii po nacionalnyim kvar-tiram*).

The communist movement has another danger: Dogmatism and sectarianism. At the present time, when a rallying of all forces for the struggle against imperialism, for the prevention of war, and for the overthrow of the monopolies is required, dogmatism and sectarianism can do great harm to our cause. Leninism is uncompromising toward dogmatism. Lenin wrote: It is essential to learn the indisputable truth that a Marxist must take account of life, of the exact facts of reality, and not go on clinging to yesterday's theory, which, like all theory, at best outlines fundamentals, generalities, and only approximately a total comprehension of the complexities of life.

Dogmatism nourishes sectarian stolidness which hinders the rallying of the working class and all progressive forces around the communist parties. Dogmatism and sectarianism are in irreconcilable contradiction to the creative development of revolutionary theory and its creative application in practice. They lead to the isolation of communists from the broad strata of the workers; they condemn them to passive temporizing or leftist adventurist activities in the revolutionary struggle; they prevent full use of all opportunities in the interests of the victory of the working class and all democratic forces.

The statement stresses that the communist parties will continue to wage a resolute struggle on two fronts: against revisionism, which remains the main danger, and against dogmatism and sectarianism. Unless a consistent struggle is waged against them, dogmatism and sectarianism may even become the main danger at one stage or another of the development of individual parties. The communist and workers parties consider it their in-

ternational duty to hold high the banner of creative Marxism-Leninism as a decisive condition for all our further victories.

For the further consolidation of the communist movement on the principles of Marxism-Leninism:

Comrades, the struggle between the communist and all the popular forces on one side, and the forces of imperialism on the other is entering a new stage. In these conditions the solidarity of the ranks of the socialist camp and the entire international communist movement acquires foremost importance. Our solidarity on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism is the main condition for victory of the working class over imperialism. We keep sacred the bequest of the great Lenin—to march forward firmly holding hands. The unity of our ranks increases the strength of communism tenfold. Solidarity, solidarity, and again solidarity—such is the law of the international communist movement.

It follows from the essence of Leninism itself that every Marxist-Leninist party must prevent, both within its own ranks and in the international communist movement, any action which could undermine its unity and solidarity. The common aim of the struggle of all communists of the world demands, as before, a unity of will and action of the communist parties of all countries. The conference made a major contribution to the further consolidation of the international communist movement by declaring, in complete accord with Leninist teaching, that the communist parties will in every way strengthen the unity of their ranks and the unity of the whole international communist movement.

The interests of the struggle for the cause of the working class demand an increasing cohesion of the ranks of every communist party and of the great army of communists of the world. The declaration says that unity of will and action and a concern for the constant strengthening of the unity of the international communist movement constitute the supreme international duty of every Marxist-Leninist party.

A resolute defense of the unity of the international communist movement on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, and a prevention of any action capable of undermining this unity constitute a necessary condition for a victory

in the struggle for national independence, democracy, and peace, and for a successful solution of the tasks of the socialist revolution, the building of socialism and communism. A violation of these principles would lead to a weakening of the forces of communism.

It should be noted that the delegation of the C.P.S.U. at the conference set out its viewpoint concerning the wording that the Soviet Union is at the head of the socialist camp and that the C.P.S.U. is at the head of the communist movement. Our delegation declared that in this wording we see first of all high praise of the services of our party, which was created by Lenin, and an expression of cordial thanks to all fraternal parties.

Our party, nurtured by Lenin, has always regarded it as its foremost duty to fulfill international obligations to the international working class. The delegation assured the participants of the conference that the party in the future too would bear high the banner of proletarian internationalism and would spare no effort to fulfill its international obligations. At the same time, the C.P.S.U. delegation proposed that the wording should not be included in the declaration or other documents of the communist movement.

Regarding the principles of mutual relations between the fraternal parties, the C.P.S.U. expressed its position most definitely at the 21st party congress.

From the tribune of the congress we declared before the whole world that in the communist movement, just as in the socialist camp, there has existed and exists complete equality of rights and solidarity of all communist and workers parties and socialist countries. The C.P.S.U. in reality does not exercise leadership over other parties. In the communist movement there are no parties that are superior or subordinate. All communist parties are equal and independent. All carry responsibility for the destiny of the communist movement, for its victories and failures. Each communist and workers party is responsible to the working class, the working people of its own country, to the entire international workers and communist movement.

The role of the Soviet Union does not lie in the fact that it leads other socialist countries but in the fact that it was the first to blaze the trail to socialism, is the most powerful country in the world socialist system, has amassed a great deal of positive ex-

perience in the struggle for the building of socialism, and was the first to enter the period of comprehensive construction of communism. It is stressed in the statement that the universally acknowledged vanguard of the world communist movement has been and still remains the C.P.S.U. as the most experienced and hardened unit of the international communist movement.

At the moment, when there exists a large group of socialist countries, each of which is faced with its own tasks, when there are 87 communist and workers parties functioning each of which moreover is also faced with its own tasks, it is not possible for leadership over socialist countries and communist parties to be exercised from any center at all. This is neither possible nor necessary.

There have grown up in the communist parties hardened Marxist-Leninist cadres capable of leading their own parties, their countries. However, in practice, as is well known, the C.P.S.U. does not give directives to any other parties. The fact that we are called the leader gives no advantages either to our party, or to other parties. On the contrary, it only creates difficulties.

As is evident from the text of the statement, the fraternal parties have agreed with the conclusions of our delegation. The question may arise: Will our international solidarity not be weakened by the fact that this provision is not written down in the statement? No, it will not be weakened. At the present time there is no statute which could regulate relations between parties. Instead, we have a common Marxist-Leninist ideology, and loyalty to it is the main condition of our solidarity and unity. It is necessary to be consistently guided by the teaching of Marx, Engels, and Lenin: to resolutely practice the principles of Marxism-Leninism. Then the cause of international solidarity of the communist movement will continually strengthen.

Our party as an internationalist party is following with great attention the struggle of its class brothers in all countries. We are well aware of the difficulties that communists struggling under capitalism must overcome. From the rostrum of the conference the C.P.S.U. delegation expressed the boundless solidarity of our party with fighters for the cause of communism in capitalist countries, especially with our comrades languishing in prison

torture chambers in Spain and Portugal, Greece and West Germany, the U.A.R., Iraq and Iran, the United States and Paraguay, and all other prisoners of capitalism. We are confident that our words of greetings will give heart to the self-sacrificing fighters for the people's happiness.

Comrades, representatives of communists in all countries attended the meeting at a remarkable time, when the world communist movement is in a great upsurge. Outstanding successes have been scored by communist parties in the capitalist countries. Communism in those countries where the working class has been victorious is scoring ever new successes. These countries not only withstood the pressure of class enemies both inside and outside the countries but, implementing the principles of Marxism-Leninism on socialist construction, have attained a high upsurge in the development of economy, culture, science, and technology, in raising the people's living standards.

The peoples in those countries demonstrate monolithic unity around communist and workers parties. While in the past, the slogan of the struggle for socialism and communist transformation was the slogan of communist parties, now the struggle for socialism and communism has become a nationwide cause in those countries, a nationwide struggle for the triumph of a new communist world. Thus life itself confirms the validity of our revolutionary theory, the validity and vitality of Marxism-Leninism.

Very rewarding for us communists is the fact that the great force of communism is seen not only by the peoples in the socialist countries but by people who do not recognize the teachings of Marxism-Leninism. They are compelled to recognize the great results of the development of our countries attained on the basis of Marxist-Leninist teaching. This, comrades, is of great significance.

Marxist-Leninist theory is the guiding light for our actions. The communists, as the leading detachment of the working class, have always regarded it as a scientific program in their struggle for victory, wholeheartedly believe in this teaching, and consistently and firmly struggle for its implementation. Today, guided by this teaching, the socialist countries score great successes in economic competition with the capitalist states, and the masses see that socialism and communism are the greatest force of

our times; they see that the future belongs to communism.

Of course, in building socialism and communism, new forms and methods yielding good results in the achievements of the great socialist aims are emerging. Since different conditions exist in various socialist countries, it is natural that every communist party applies Marxist-Leninist theory in accordance with conditions in its country. Therefore we must understand such strivings by the fraternal parties, who know better the conditions and peculiarities in their countries. We are proceeding from the statement by the great Lenin that all nations will come to socialism. This is unavoidable. But all will not come in the same way. Each of them will bring its own traits into one or another form of democracy, into one or another variety of dictatorship of the proletariat, into one or another rate of socialist transformations in various aspects of social life. But, of course, there is no need to exaggerate the significance of these peculiarities, to overstress them, failing to see the main part of communist construction indicated by the teaching of Marx and Lenin.

We have always been firmly defending and will defend purity of the great teaching of Marxism-Leninism and the basic principles of its implementation. Representatives of communist and workers parties exchanged their opinions on the present international situation, discussed the urgent problems of the communist and workers movement, or, as comrades figuratively stated at the conference, synchronized their watches. Indeed, the socialist countries and the communist parties must synchronize their watches. When someone's clock is fast or slow, it is regulated so that it shows the correct time. Similarly, it is necessary to check the time of the communist movement, so that our powerful army keeps in step and makes confident strides toward communism. If it is possible to use such a figure of speech, Marxism-Leninism and the jointly worked out documents of international communist conferences serve us as chimes, striking the hour. After all, the communist and workers parties attending the conference unanimously worked out their decisions. Every party will adhere to these decisions in a strict and sacred manner, throughout its activities.

Comrades, the importance of the conference lies in the fact that as its result the participants of the con-

ference have felt even better, stronger, and more confident. There has opened before them to an even wider extent the grandiose epic of the struggle of all communist and workers parties. This contributes to the rallying together of the international communist movement. Every fraternal party emphasized in the international forum its confidence in the victory of our common cause. This is of immense importance for the consolidation of the whole international communist movement. The unity of the ranks of every communist party and the unity of all communist parties constitute the united international communist movement directed at the achievement of our common goal—the triumph of communism throughout the world. The main thing that is now demanded of all communist and workers parties is all-round and persistent efforts to strengthen the unity and cohesion of their ranks.

The unity of the ranks of the communist movement in modern conditions assumes particularly great importance. It is required by the worldwide historic tasks which the communist movement is now called upon to tackle. On behalf of the C.P.S.U. our delegation assured the participants of the conference that we, on our part, would do everything to strengthen still more the close fraternal bonds with all communist parties. Our party will do everything so the socialist camp and the world communist front becomes even stronger. The C.P.S.U. is filled with unswerving determination to strengthen the unity and friendship with all fraternal parties of socialist countries and with the Marxist-Leninist parties of all the world.

In this connection, I would like to refer to our invariable endeavor to strengthen the bonds of fraternal friendship with the Chinese Communist Party, with the great Chinese people. In our relations with the Chinese Communist Party our party is always guided by the fact that the friendship of the two great peoples, the cohesion of our two parties—the largest in the international communist movement—is of exceptional importance in the struggle for the triumph of our common cause. Our party has always made, and will continue to make, every effort to strengthen this great friendship. With People's China, with the Chinese communists, just as with the communists of all countries, we share one goal, the safeguarding of peace

and the building of communism; we share common interests, the happiness and well-being of the working people; and we share the common basis of firm principles, Marxism-Leninism.

The C.P.S.U. and Soviet people will do everything to insure that the unity of our parties and our peoples will increasingly strengthen so as not only to disappoint the enemies but to shake them even more with our unity and to attain our great goal—the triumph of communism.

Comrades, we live at a splendid time: communism has become the invincible force of our century. The further successes of communism depend to an enormous degree on our will, our unity,

our foresight and resolve. Through their struggle and their labor, communists, the working class, will attain the great goals of communism on earth. Men of the future, communists of the next generations will envy us. In their thoughts they will always revert to our days when the lines from the party anthem "We shall build our own new world and those who were nothing will become everything!" resounded with particular force.

The C.P.S.U. has been, is, and shall be true to the teaching of Marxism-Leninism, to proletarian internationalism, and friendship among peoples. It will always struggle for universal peace, for the victory of communism as we were taught by the great Lenin.